

NOVELTY REPREST,

In a Reply to

⁴⁴
~~X~~ 13. 69

M^r B A X T E R 'S

Answer to

W I L L I A M J O H N S O N.

W H E R E I N

The oecumenical Power of the four
first General Councils is Vindicated, the
Authority of Bishops asserted, the compleat Hier-
archy of Church Government established, his novel
succession evacuated, and professed Hereticks de-
monstrated to be no true parts of the visible Church
of Christ.

By WILLIAM JOHNSON.

Jo: Martin o. p.

*Prophanas vocum, i. e. dogmatum novitates devita,
quas recipere, atque sectari numquam Catholicorum,
semper vero Hæreticorum fuit. Lirinensis contra Hære-
ses, c. 23, 24. &c.*

Retenta est Antiquitas, explosa Novitas. Idem c. 10,

P A R I S,

Printed for E. C. Anno 1661.



Academia Cantabrigiensis
Libera.

880:10



The Preface.

MEdusa sister to Euryale and Schemion; and daughter of a sea-monster, ensnared by her beautie and golden tresses Neptune god of the Ocean, and with him polluted the Temple of Minerva, and had for issue Pegasus the winged Courser; Minerva that learned and Virgin Goddess in revenge of so foul an injury, metamorphos'd each hair of Medusaes head into a serpent, and laid so heavy a Curse upon her, that every one whose eyes were so curious as fixedly to behold her, chang'd into stones: whereupon the Bel-dam Medusa took her flight into the Dorcades, islands in the Ethiopick sea, and there raging like a hellish furie, made her self Queen and Generalesse of a femal armie, her two sisters being the chief Commanders under her, wasting and depopulating all where they march'd, with unheard of cruelty; The noble and valiant Captain Perseus covering his breast with a brazen shield of Minerva, marched undauntedly towards this hideous Monster, and discovering by the reflexion she made in the brightness of his shield, while shee and her brood of serpents were all asleep, at one blow cut off her head, and thos of the serpents with it, and took it upon the point of his
(A 2) fanchion,

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fauction with him into Africa; but such was the venom and pestilence of that inchaunted head, that every drop of bloud which fell from it turn'd into a serpent, whereby the whole coast of Africa was fill'd with snakes and vipers.

This, though a fiction, seems to be a fit Embleme of S. Greg. in Iob. Heresie. The sea whale or Monster, lib. 35. cap. 34. mother of Medusa, by reason of her immense bulk, and strength of body tousing her self over all other creatures in the Ocean; is Pride and Ambition, Lib. 2. c. 3. contra styled by Saint Austin the mother of hereticks; Medusa seducing the heart of inconstant Neptune with her youth and beauty, is a luxuriant wit priding it self in the invention of novelties in Religion: The violation of Minervaes Temple, the staining of the holy Church, with sordid tenets and practices; Pegasus the high flying thoughts of heretical spirits; Those snakes and serpents crawling from Meduæes head, and twisting themselves about her neck, gnawing and consuming not onely one another, but the head which bore them; are wicked Heresies hatch'd in the brain, and nourish'd in the head of Arch-Hereticks, condemning and thwarting one another, by perpetual contrarieties, and still gnawing upon the Conscience which brought them forth. The Petrifying Metamorphosis wrought upon the curious spectators of Medusa, is the obduratenesse of those hearts who open too broad an eye to the speculations of Hereticks: The wasting and destroying what ever oppos'd that fomal army, the horrible rebellions, civil warres, destractions, desolations caus'd by Hereticks, both in ancient, and in our present ages: The undaunted Perseus, the supreme Bishop of the Catholick Church, guarded with the shield of Faith, and arm'd with the sword of Saint Peter, cuts off the serpentine head

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head of Medusa, errors and heresies with his definitions, decrees, censures, and anathemates; the drops of blood distilling from Medusæ's head, even after it was struck dead and divided from her shoulders, turning into so many snakes and adders, the pullulation of new divisions, and subdivisions of Heresies, spreading themselves all over, and infesting the countries where they fall with implacable dissensions and tumults each against other; This is the sad story of Medusa, Emblemis'd. And yet happy had been our Nation, and many others with it, had it rested in the nature of an Embleme, and been no more then a bare speculation: But as it hath faln heavy upon several Countries in all precedent ages, so in this and the former has it almost crush'd ours, and many adjacent to us: the histories are too too fresh in our memories, and the late pressures too broad before our eyes, to need recital; and yet we might hope to obliterate their foul Characters in time; were there not new drops distilling from Medusæ's ghastly head, and perpetuating that generation of vipers, which took their first birth from it.

Force of Reason and Authority had devested our adversaries of both, and so enervated their Principles that they had no consistency; when behold a new brood of unheard of Novelties, dropping from Medusa's brain, rise up to reestablish their dying cause; Sects and Schismes are united, as parts to the Catholick Church, Oecumenicall Councils are despoiled of their ancient Authority, Ecclesiasticall Decrees pin'd up within the Circuit of the *Roman* Empire, true Christian and Divine Faith made consistent in the same soul with Heresie, ancient Theologicall Definitions question'd and revers'd, &c. And those Principles once advanced, (which both Parties condemned and execrated as Diabolicall) our Argu-

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ments are frustrated, and we put upon a necessity to prove what we and all Christians suppos'd hitherto as undeniable Truths.

This is the task which Mr. Richard Baxter, inventor of the said Novelties, hath put upon me; a man, who had his fecunditie of invention, been equalliz'd with a soliditie in Learning, might have proved as offensive, as he is now invective against the Roman Church.

My present work therefore, is not so much a defence of mine own, as of the common cause of Christians; against those young Meducean Serpents, new bred Novelties hissing against it; so that it may be equally intitled **CHRISTIANITY MAINTAIN'D,** and **NOVELTY REPRESENT.** Yet I have made choice of the latter, as not daring to assume a Title to any writing of mine, which a Person so far excelling me in all respects has prefixed to his own, in answer to another bold oppugner of Christian Principles: Whosoever therefore shall please to peruse this present Tract, shall, I hope, find the whole controversie laid open so plain before his eyes, that he needs no more then to parallell each answer to its respective objection in their severall Paragraphs; for to this end I have inserted the whole first part of Mr. Baxters last Answer, by Sections verbatim, and to each applied my rejoinder; that neither the Reader may be put to the cost or trouble of perusing Mr. Baxters Book, nor he himself have any occasion to complain that I accuse him, to say anything which he expresses not in his own Treatise: For the same end also, I have reprinted here the whole precesse of the argument, with all our precedent respective Answers and Replies, that the Reader may have all ready at hand, for a more facil understanding of the whole matter. Yet in my Answer to his second part, in

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proof of the perpetual visibility of the Protestant Church, I have not inserted his Text, both by reason it would have rendered the tome disproportionable, and that he often spends many Leafs in proving Propositions, which I deny not, so that it had bin to no purpose at all to insert them; what I found material in that part, I have recited and answered, and remit the judgement and censure of the whole work to any impartial Reader. If Mr. Baxter will venture upon an Answer, I expect as fair a proceeding from him, as he has here from me; to insert by Sections as I have done my Text, and apply a particular Answer to each Section; for otherwise all impartial eyes will see that he flies the light, and seeks corners to hide himself, and takes a new occasion both to pervert my words, distort my sense, and make me say what he pleases, when he cannot answer what I say, as he has done more then once in this his Answer.

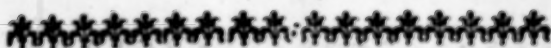
The whole issue of the work, is not onely a discovery of the weaknesse and dissatisfaction of this his Answer, but withall, an enervating of the main Principles, Arguments, and Instances against the Roman Church in his other Works, and particularly in his K E T, this against Johnson being a Recent, or Epitome of what he has more largely treated in his former Invektives: so that the Authour hopes, the serious perusal of this will so far rectifie the judgement of his Readers, that they will be enabled to see the vanity and fallacy, of all he has with so much labour and bitterness given out against us. All we have to say or doe in relation to his Person, is earnestly to beg of the God of mercy pardon and forrivenesse for him for what is past, and a new beam of light from heaven to guide and direct him for the future, and bring him into that saving way, wherein he may attain unto a never ending felicity.

A Brief Advertisement to the READER.

THat the Reader may be sufficiently informed, how this controversy took its rise and progress, he may please to take notice, That Mr. Johnsons Argument was first sent to Mr. Baxter concerning the necessity of being a member of the Roman Church to obtain salvation; next Mr. Baxter sent back an Answer to the said Argument, and thereupon Mr. Johnson sent a Reply to Mr. Baxters Answer. Thus far the whole Process is comprised in Mr. Baxters Edition, from page 1. to page 66. which I have here reprinted Word for Word, that the Reader may have a full view of the whole Controversie, and have at hand the matter so which Mr. Baxter fram'd his last Answer, so the end that this Rejoynder to it may be the better understood, and the force of it more fully examined, and weighed by the Judicious Peruser of this Tract. Mr. Baxter therefore sets down Mr. Johnsons Argument, Mr. Baxters Answer, and Johnsons Reply in this manner following.

B

Mr.



Mr. *Johnsons* first PAPER.

THe Church of Christ, wherein only Salvation is to be had, never was nor is any other then those Assemblies of Christians, who were united in Communion and obedience to *S. Peter* in the beginning since the Ascension of Christ. And ever since to his lawfull Successors, the Bishops of *Rome*, as to their chief Pastor.

Proof.

Whatsoever Congregation of Christians is *now* the true Church of Christ, acknowledges *S. Peter* and his lawfull Successors the Bishops of *Rome*, ever since the Ascension of Christ, to have been, and *now* to be by the Institution of Christ, their chief Head and Governour on earth in matters belonging to the soul, next under Christ.

Bat there is no salvation to be had out of that Congregation of Christians, which is *now* the true Church of Christ.

Ergo, There is no salvation to be had out of that Congregation of Christians which acknowledges *S. Peter* and his lawfull Successors the Bishops of *Rome* ever to have been since the Ascension of Christ; and *now* to be by the Institution of Christ their chief Head and Governour on earth in matters belonging to the soul next under Christ.

The Minor is clear; For all Christians agree in this, that

that to be saved, it is necessary to be in the true Church of Christ; that only being his mystical Body, Spouse and Mother of the faithful, to which must belong all those who ever have been, are, or shall be saved.

The Major I prove thus.

Whatsoever Congregation of Christians is *now* the true Church of Christ, hath been always visible since the time of Christ, either under persecution, or in peace and flourishing.

But no Congregation of Christians hath been always visible since the time of Christ, either under persecution or in peace and flourishing, save that only which acknowledges *S. Peter* and his lawfull successors, the Bishops of *Rome*, ever to have been since the Ascension of Christ; and *now* to be by Christs Institution their chief Head and Governour on earth, in matters belonging to the soul, next under Christ.

Ergo, Whatsoever Congregation of Christians is *now* the true Church of Christ, acknowledges *S. Peter*, and his lawful successors the Bishops of *Rome* ever to have been since the Ascension of Christ; and *now* to be by Christs Institution their chief Head and Governour on earth, in matters belonging to the soul, next under Christ.

The Major is proved thus:

Whatsoever Congregation of Christians hath always had visible Pastors and people united, hath always been visible either under persecution, or in peace and flourishing.

But whatsoever Congregation of Christians is *now* the true Church of Christ, hath always had visible Pastors and People *united*.

Ergo, Whatsoever Congregation of Christians is *now* the true Church of Christ hath always been visible, either under persecution, or in peace and flourishing.

The Major of this last Syllogism is evident, for seeing

a visible Church is nothing but a visible Pastor and people united: where there have always been visible Pastors and people united, there hath always been a visible Church.

The Minor I prove from *Ephesians*, cap. 4. ver. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, &c.

Where *S. Paul* says, that Christ had instituted, that there should be Pastors and Teachers in the Church for the work of the Ministry, and preserving the people under their respective charges from being carried away with every wind of doctrine, &c. which evidently shews those Pastors must be visible, seeing the work of the Ministry, which is Preaching, and Administration of Sacraments, and governing their flocks, are all external and visible actions. And this shews likewise, that those Pastors and People must be *always visible*, because they are to continue from Christs Ascension, untill we all meet together in the unity of faith, &c. which cannot be before the day of judgement.

Neither can it be said (as some say) that this promise of Christ is only conditional, since to put it to be so without evident Reason, giveth scope to every one at his pleasure to make every other promise of Christ to be conditional. And so we shall be certain of nothing that Christ hath promised, neither that there shall always be a visible or invisible Church, nor any Church at all; no nor of Judgement, nor of Eternal life, or of the Resurrection of the dead, &c. for one may say with as much ground as this is said, that some conditions were included in all those promises, which being not fulfilled, hinders the execution of them.

There remains only, to prove the Minor of the second Syllogism, *viz.* That no Congregation of Christians hath been always visible, &c. save that which acknowledges *S. Peter* and his lawfull successors, &c. to be their chief
Head

Head and Governour, &c. next under Christ.

This Minor I prove, by obliging the answerers to nominate any Congregation of Christians, which always till this present time, since Christ, hath been *visible*, either under persecution, or in peace and flourishing, save that only which acknowledges *S. Peter*, &c. *ut supra*.

Sir,

To comply with your desires of brevity, and of confining my self to half a sheet of paper; I send you at present only one Argument, which being fully discussed, shall be followed by others, God willing. To this as to all the rest of my Arguments, which may hereafter be urged: I require a Categorical and strict Syllogistical Answer in Form, by *Concedo, Nego, Distinguo, Omitto, Transfert*. And the particular Propositions specified, to which the Respondents apply any of them; and no more then precisely thus, neither adding Amplifications, Reasons, Proofs, &c. of their own out of form, and that this may be done with all convenient speed. To the place of Scripture, *Ephes. 4.* &c. is also required a Categorical answer to what is precisely pressed in it, without directing the Discourse to other things: And what is answered otherwise, I shall not esteem an Answer, but an *Effugium*, or declining of the difficulty: By this method exactly observed, Truth will easily and speedily be made manifest; and your desires of Brevity will be punctually complied with. I also desire, that the Respondent or Respondents will (as I do to this) subscribe his or their name or names to their answers, so often as any are by him or them returned, with the day of the month when returned:

Decemb. 9. 1658.

William Johnson.

The Answer to the first PAPER.

I received yours, and writ this Answer, Jan. 4. 1658.

Sir,

VV *Howev* you are, a serious debate with so sober a Disputant, is to me an exceeding acceptable employment : I shall not, I hope, give you any cause to say, that I decline any difficulties, or balk your strength, or transgress the part of a Respondent. But because, 1. You have not (as you ought to have done) explained the terms of your Thesis. 2. And have made your Propositions so long. 3. And have so cunningly lapped up your fallacies; your Respondent is necessitated to be the larger in distinction and explication. And seeing you are so instant with me for strictness, you thereby oblige your self, if you will be ingenuous, to make onely the learned, and not any ignorant men the Judges of our dispute : because you know that to the unlearned a bare Nego signifieth nothing : but when such have read your Arguments at length, they will expect as plain and large a confutation, or judge you to be in the right for speaking most.

TO your Argument. 1. Your conclusion containeth not your Thesis, or Question. And so you give up your cause the first step, and make a new one. It should have contained

contained your Question in terms, and it doth not so much as contain it in the plain sense; so much difference is there between [*Assemblies of Christians united, &c.*] and [*Congregation of Christians*] and between [*Salvation or the Church, never was in any other then those Assemblies*] and [*no Salvation out of that Congregation;*] as I shall shew you: besides other differences which you may see.

Ad Majorem Resp. 1. By [*Congregation*] you mean, either the whole Catholick Church united in Christ, or some particular Congregation, which is but part of that whole. In the latter sense, your Subject hath a false supposition, viz. that a part is the whole; and your Minor will be false. And your [*whosoever Congregation of Christians*] seems to distinguish that from some other excluded Congregation of Christians that is no part of the Catholick Church, which is a supposing the chief part of the Question granted you, which we deny. We know no universal Congregation of Christians but one, which containeth all particular Congregations and Christians, that univocally deserve that name.

2. Either you mean that [*this whole Congregation or true Church acknowledgeth*] the Popes Sovereignty, or else [*that some part of it doth acknowledge it.*] The former I deny, and challenge any man living to prove: If it be [*part onely*] that you mean, then either [*the greater part*] or [*the lesser*]: that it is the greater, I as confidently almost deny: for it is against the common knowledge of men acquainted with the world, &c. If you mean [*the lesser part*] you shall see anon that it destroyes your cause.

3. Either you speak de Ecclesia quæ talis, or de Ecclesia quæ talis: and mean that this [*acknowledgment*] is essential to it, or at least an inseparable property, or else that it is a separable accident. The latter will do you no

good: the former I deny. In sum: I grant that a small corrupt part of the Catholike Church doth now acknowledge the Pope to be Christs Vicar, (or the Vice-christ;) but I deny, 1. That the whole doth so (which is your great cause.) 2. Or the Major part. 3. Or any Congregation through all ages, (though if they had, it would do you no good.) 4. Or that it is done by any upon just ground, but is their corruption.

Ad Minorem, Resp. 1. If you mean any [part] of the Universal Church by [that Congregation which is now the true Church] I deny your Minor: If [the whole] I grant it. 2. You say [all Christians agree] in it, &c. Resp. I think all Protestants or near all, do: but Franciscus à sancta Clara hath copiously told us (in Artic. Anglic.) that most of your own Doctors are for the salvation of Infidels; and then either you take Infidels for your Church members, or your Doctors for no Christians, or you play not fair play to tell us so grosse an untruth, that all Christians are agreed in it.

To your Conclusion. Resp. 1. Either you mean that [there is no Salvation to be had out of that Universal Church, whose part (a mixt corrupt part) acknowledgeth the Popes Soueraignty] or else [that there is no Salvation to be had out of that Universal Church which wholly acknowledgeth it.] or else [that there is no Salvation to be had out of that part of the Universal Church which acknowledgeth it.] In the first sense I grant your conclusion (if really you are part of the Church.) There is no Salvation to be had out of Christs Universal Church, of which you are a small corrupted part. In the second sense I told you we deny the supposition in the subject. In the third sense; I deny the sequel; non sequitur, because your Major Proposition being false de Ecclesia universali, the conclusion must be false de parte ista; as excluding the rest.

But

But to the unskilful or unwary Reader your conclusion seemeth to import, that [the being in such a Church which acknowledgeth the Popes Sovereignty, as it is such a Church, is necessary to Salvation] and so [that the persons acknowledgement is necessary.] But it is a fallacia accidentis cunningly lapt up, that is the life of your imported cause. That part of the Universal Church doth hold to the Popes Sovereignty, is per accidentis; and could you prove that the whole Church doth so (which you are unlike to do) I would say the like. And that your fallacy may the beter appear; I give you some examples of such like Sophismes.

[Whatsoever Nation is the true Kingdome of Spain, is proud and cruel against Protestants: But there is no protection there due to any that are not of that Kingdome: therefore there is no protection due to any that are not proud and cruel.] Or [whatsoever Nation is the true Kingdome of France acknowledgeth the Pope: but no protection is due from the Governours to any that are not of that Kingdome: therefore no protection is due to any that acknowledge not the Pope.] Or [what ever Nation is the Kingdome of Ireland in the days of Queen Elizabeth, was for the Earl of Tyrone: but there was no right of Inheritance for any that were not of that Nation: therefore there was no right of Inheritance for any that was not for the Earl of Tyrone.] Or suppose that you could have proved it of all the Church. If you had lived four hundred years after Christ, you might as well have argued thus. [Whatsoever Congregation of Christians is now the true Church of Christ, is against kneeling in adoration on the Lords days. But there is no salvation to be had out of that Congregation of Christians, which is now the true Church of Christ: therefore there is no salvation to be had out of that Congregation
which

which is against kneeling on the Lords day, &c.] But yet,
 1. There was Salvation to be had in that Congregation
 without being of that opinion. 2. And there is now Sal-
 vation to be had in a Congregation that is not of that opi-
 nion, as you will confess.

Or [whatsoever Congregation of Christians is now
 the true Church of Christ, doth hold the Canticles and the
 Epistle to Philemon to be Canonical Scripture, (and so
 have done, &c.) But there is no Salvation to be had out of
 the true Church: therefore there is no Salvation to be had
 out of that Congregation which holdeth the Canticles
 and Epistle to Philemon to be Canonical Scripture.]
 But yet, 1. Salvation is to be had in that Church with-
 out holding it. 2. And its possible hereafter a Church
 may deny those two books, and yet you will think Sal-
 vation not thereby overthrown. This is but to shew your
 fallacy from a corrupt accident, and indeed but of a part of
 the Church, and a small part.

Now to your proof of the Major. Resp. ad Major.
 The present matter of the Church was not visible in the
 last Generation, for we were not then born: but the
 same form of the Church was then existent in a visible
 Matter, and their Profession was visible or audible, though
 their faith it self was invisible. I will do more then you
 shall do, in maintaining the constant visibility of the
 Church.

Ad minorem. 1. If you mean that no Congregation
 hath been alwayes visible [but that Universal Church
 whose lesser corrupt part acknowledges] the Popes
 Sovereignty, I grant it. For besides [the whole contain-
 ing all Christians as the parts] there can be no other.
 If you mean [save that part which acknowledgeth] you
 contradict your self, because a part implieth other parts.
 If you mean [save that Universal Church, all whose
 members

members (or the most) acknowledge, there is no such subject existent. 2. I distinguish of Visibility: Its one thing to be a visible Church, that is, visible in its essentials; and another thing to be visible quoad hoc, as to some separable accident. [The Universal Church] was ever visible; because their Profession of Christianity was so, and the persons professing: But [the acknowledgment of the Vice-christ] was not alwayes visible, no not in any parts, much less in the whole. And if it had, it was but a separable accident, (if your disease be not incurable) that was visible: and therefore, 1. It was not necessary to Salvation, nor a proper mark of the Church. 2. Nor can it be so for the time to come.

I need to say no more to your conclusion. Your Argument is no better then this, [whatsoever Congregation of Christians is now the true Church of Christ, hath been alwayes visible since the time of Christ: But no congregation of Christians hath been so visible, save onely that which condemneth the Greeks, which hath a Colledge of Cardinals to chose the Popes, which denieth the cup to the laity, which forbiddeth the reading of Scripture in a known tongue without license, &c. Therefore whatsoever Congregation of Christians is now the true Church of Christ, hath all these]; 1. In a corrupt part it hath. 2. But it had not alwayes. 3. And may be cured hereafter.

To your proof of the Major: 1. I grant your Major.

2. Ad minorem. 1. Either you mean [Universal Pastors] each one, or some one having charge and Government of the [whole Church,] or you mean, [unfixed Pastors having an indefinite charge of Preaching and Guiding when they come and have particular calls and opportunities] or you mean [the fixed Pastors of particular Churches] In the first sense your Minor is false, the
Catholick

*Catholike Church was never so united to any Universal Head but Christ: no one of the Apostles governed the rest, and the whole Church, much less any since their time. In the second sense, I grant that the Church hath ever had Pastors since the Ascension. In the third sense, I grant that some parts, or other of the Catholick Church, have ever had fixed Pastors of Congregations since the first setting of such Pastors. But any one particular Congregation may cease to have such Pastors, and may cease it self: And Rome hath been long without any true Pastors; and therefore was then no such visible Church. **

2. If by [Congregation] you mean not the Universal Church but [a part], or if you mean it of [all the parts of the Universal Church] I deny your Minor: Communities of Christians, and particular persons have been and may be without any Pastors, to whom they are united or subject. The Indians that died in the faith while Frumentius and Edecius were there preaching, before they had any Pastor, were yet Christians and saved: If a Lay man convert one, or a thousand, (and you will say that he may baptize them) and they die before they can have a Pastor, or ever hear of any to whom they owe subjection, they are nevertheless saved, as members of the Church; And if all the Pastors in a Nation were murdered or banished, the people would not cease to be Christians and members of the Church. Much lesse if the Pope were dead or deposed, or a vacancy befell his seat, would all the Catholick Church be annihilated, or cease.

To your Confirmation of the Major [that a visible Church is nothing but a Visible Pastor, and people united] I answer: 1. Its true of the Universal Church, as united in Christ, the great Pastor, but not as united in a Vicar-Chief or human head.

2. It is true of a particular Political or organized Church, as united to their proper Pastors. 3. But it is not true of every Community of Christians who are a part of the Universal Church. A company converted to Christ, are members of the Universal Church, (though they never heard of a Pope at Rome) before they are united to Pastors of their own.

The Proof of the Minor from Ephes. 4. I grant as aforesaid: The Text proveth that Pastors the Church shall have: I disclaim the vain Objection [of Conditionality in the Promise] which you mention. But it proves not, 1. That the Church shall have an Universal Monarch or Vice-Christ, under Christ. 2. Nor that every Member of the Universal Church, shall certainly be a member of a particular Church, or ever see the face of Pastor, or be subject to him.

You say next [There remains only to prove the Minor of the second Syllogism, Viz. That no Congregation of Christians hath been always visible but that which acknowledges, &c.] This is the great point which all lyeth on: The rest hath been all nothing, but a cunning stroking horn to this. Prove this, and prove all: Prove not this; and you have lost your time.

You say [The Minor I prove, by obliging the answerers to nominate any Congregation of Christians which always till this present time since Christ hath been visible — save that only which acknowledges, &c.] And have I waited all this while for this? You prove it by obliging me to prove the contrary. Ridiculous! sed quo jure? 1. Your undertaken form of arguing obligeth you to prove your Minor: You cannot cast your Respondent upon proving and so arguing, and doing the Opponents part. 2. And in your Post-

Postscript you presently forbid it me ; You require me to hold to a *Concedo, Nego, Distinguo, Omitto, Transeat* ; threatening that else you will take it for an *Effugium*. And I pray you tell me in your next, to which of these doth the nomination or proof of such a Church as you describe belong ? Plainly, you first slip away when you should prove your *Minor*, and then oblige me to prove the contrary, and then tell me, if I attempt it, you'll take it for an *Effugium*. A good cause needs not such dealing as this : which me thinks you should be loth a learned man should bear of. 3. Your interest also in the Matter (as well as your office as Opponent) doth oblige you to the proof For though you make a *Negative* of it, you may put it in other terms at your pleasure. It is your main work to prove [that all the members of the Universal Church have in all ages held the Popes Sovereignty or Universal Headship.] Or [the whole Visible Church hath held it] Prove this, and I will be a Papist ; you have my promise : You affirm, and you must prove. Prove a Catholike Church, at least that in the Major part was of that mind : (though that would be nothing to prove the condemnation of the rest.) If you are an impartial enquirer after truth, fly not when you come to the setting too. I give you this further evident reason why you cannot oblige me to what you here impose ; 1. Because you require me to prove the *Visibility* of a Church which held not your point of *Papacy* ; and so put an unreasonable task upon me about a *Negative* : Or else I must prove that they held the contrary ; before your opinion was started : And it is the Catholike Church that we are disputing about ; so that I must prove this *Negative* of the Catholike Church. 2. It is you that lay the great stress of *Necessity* on your *Affirmative*, more then we do on the *Negative* ; you say that no man can be saved with-

without your Affirmative [that the Pope is the universal Head and Governour] But we say not that no man can be saved that holdeth not our Negative, [that he is not the Vice-Christ] For one that hath the plague or leprosie may live. Therefore it is you that must prove that all the Catholike Church was still of your mind. 3. And it is an Accident, and but an Accident of a smaller corrupted part of the Catholike Church that you would oblige me to prove the Negation of ; and therefore it is utterly needlesse to my proof of a visible Catholike Church. I will without it prove to you a successive Visibilty of the Catholike Church, from the Visibilty of its Essential or Constitutive parts (of which your Pope is none.) I will prove a successive visible Church that hath still professed faith in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and been united to the Universal Head, and had particular Pastors, some fixed, some unfixed, and held all essential to a Christian. And proving this, I have proved the Church of which I am a member. To prove that England hath been so long a Kingdom, requireth no more but to prove the two Essential parts, King and Subjects, to have so long continued united. It requireth not that I prove that it either had or opposed a Vice-King. This is our plain case ; if a man have a botch on one of his hands, it is not needful in order to my proving him a man heretofore, that I prove he was born and bred without it : so be it I prove that he was born a man, it sufficeth. Nor is it needful that I prove the other hand always to have been free, in order to prove it a member of the body : It sufficeth that I prove it to have been still a hand.

I do therefore desire you to perform your work, and prove that [no Congregation hath been still visible, but such as yours] or that [the whole Catholike Church

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I do therefore desire you to perform your work, and prove that [no Congregation hath been still visible, but such as yours] or that [the whole Catholike Church

Church hath ever since the ascension held a Humane Universal Government under Christ, or else I shall take it as a giving up your cause as indefensible. And observe, if you shall prove only that a part of the Catholick Church still held this (which you can never do) then, 1. You will make the contrary opinion as Consistent with salvation as yours. For the rest of the Catholick Church is savable. 2. And then you will allow me to turn your Argument against your self as much as it is against us (and so cast it away.) e. g. [what ever Congregation of Christians is now the true Church of Christ, hath been alwayes Visible: But no Congregation of Christians hath been alwayes Visible, but that which quoad partem denieth the Popes universal Headship; therefore whatever Congregation of Christians is the true Church, denieth the Popes universal Headship.

Well: but for all this (supposing you will do your part) I will fail you in nothing that's reasonable, which I can perform. A Catholick Church in all ages that was against the Pope, in every member of it, I hope I cannot shew you; because I hope that you are members, though corrupt. But you shall have more then a particular Congregation, or a hundred.

1. At this present, two or three parts of the Catholick Church is known to be against your Universal Monarchy. The Greeks, Armenians, Ethiopians, &c. besides the Protestants. 2. In the last age there were as many or more. 3. In the former ages till An. D. 1000. there were meer as many, or rather many more. For more be falsn off in Tenuè, Nubia, and other parts then the Protestants that came in. 4. About the year 600. there were many more, incomparably; and I think then, but at least of 400. years after Christ I never yet saw valid proof of one Papist in all the world;

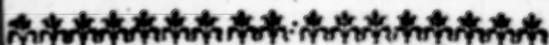
world, that is, one that was for the Popes Universal Monarchy or Vice-Christ-ship. So that most of the Catholick Church (about three parts to one) hath been against you to this day; and all against you for many hundred years. Could I name but a Nation against you, I should think I had done nothing; much lesse if I cited a few men in an age. 5. And of all those of Ethiopia, India, &c. that are without the verge and awe of the Ancient Roman Empire, never so much as gave the Pope that Primacy of dignity, which those within the Empire gave him, when he was chief, as the Earl of Arundel is of the Earls of England that governeth none of them, and as the Lord Chancellor may be the chief Judge, that hath no power in alieno foro, or as the eldest Justice is chief in the County, and on the Bench, that ruleth not the rest. Mistake not this Primacy for Monarchy, nor the Roman Empire for the world, and you can say nothing.

At present, ad hominem, I give you sufficient proof of this succession. As you use to say that the present Church best knew the judgement of the former age, and so do to the head, and so Tradition beareth you out: I turn this irresistibly against you. The far greatest part of Christians in the world that now are in possession of the doctrine contrary to your Monarchy, tell us that they had it from their Fathers, and so on. And as in Councils so with the Church Real, the Major part (three to one) is more to be credited than the Minor part; especially when it is a visible self-advancement that the Minor part insisteth on. And were not this enough, I might add, That your western Church it self in its Representative Body at Constance and Basil, hath determined that not the Pope, but a General Council is the chief Governour under Christ; and that this hath been still the judgement of the Church, and that its Heresie in

whoever that hold the contrary. 7. And no man can prove that one half or tenth part of your people called Papists are of your opinion : For they are not called to professe it by words : and their obedience is partly forced, and partly upon other principles ; some obeying the Pope as their Western Patriarch of chief dignity ; and some and most doing all for their own safety and peace : Their outward acts will prove no more.

And now Sir, I have told you what Church of which we are members, hath been visible ; yea and what part of it hath opposed the Vice-christ of Rome. This I delayed not an hour after I received yours, because you desired speed. Accordingly I crave your speedy return ; and intreat you to advise with the most learned men (whether Jesuites or others) of your party in London that think it worth their thoughts and time : not that I have any thoughts of being their equall in learning, but partly because the case seemeth to me so exceeding palpable, that I think it will suffice me to supply all my defects against the ablest men on earth, or all of them together of your way ; and principally, because I would see your strength, and know the most that can be said, that I may be rectified if I err (which I suspect not) or confirmed the more if you cannot evince it, and so may be true to Gods Truth, and my own soul.

Rich. Baxter.



Mr. Johnsons second PAPER.

SIR,

IT was my happiness to have this Argument transmitted into your learned and quiet hands; which gratefully returns as fair a measure as it received from you; that Animadverts on both sides sepos'd, Truth may appear in its full splendor, and seat it self in the Center of both our hearts.

To your first Exception.

My *Thesis* was sufficiently made clear to my friend, who was concerned in it; and needed no explication in its address to the learned.

To your second Exception.

My Propositions were long, that my Argument (as was required) might be very short, and not exceed the quantity of half a sheet: which enforced me to penetrate many Syllogisms into one; and by that means in the first not to be so precise in form, as otherwise I should have been.

To your third Exception.

Seeing I required nothing but Logical form in answering, I conceive that regard was more to be had amongst the learned to that, than to the errors of the vulgar: that whilst ignorance attends to most words, learning might attend to most reason.

To your fourth Exception.

My Argument contains not precisely the terms of my *Thesis*: because, when I was called upon to hasten my Argument, I had not then at hand my *Thesis*. Had I put

more in my *Thesis*, then I prove in my Argument, I had been faulty; but proving more then my *Thesis* contained (as I clearly do) no body hath reason to find fault with me, save myself. The *reall* difference betwixt *Assemblies of Christians*, and *Congregations of Christians*, and betwixt Salvation is *only to be had* in those Assemblies, and Salvation is *not to be had* out of that Congregation, I understand not: seeing all particular Assemblies of true Christians, must make one Congregation.

To your Answer to my first Syllogism.

He who distinguishes Logically the terms of any proposition, must not apply his distinction to some one part of the *terms* only, but to the whole *term*, as it stands in the proposition distinguished. Now in my proposition I affirm, that the Congregation of Christians I speak of there, is such a Congregation, *that it is the true Church of Christ*, that is, (as all know) the whole Catholick Church: and you distinguish thus, That I either mean by *Congregation* the whole Catholick Church, or only some part of it: as if one should say, *whatsoever Congregation of men is the Common-wealth of England*, and another in answer to it should distinguish, either by *Congregation of men* you mean the whole Common-wealth, or some part of it, when all men know, that by the *Common-wealth of England*, must be meant the whole Common-wealth: for no part of it is the Common-wealth of England.

Again, you distinguish, that some things are Essentials, or Necessaries, and others accidents, which are acknowledged or practised in the Church. Now to apply this distinction to my Proposition, you must distinguish that which I say is acknowledged to have been *ever* in the Church by *the Institution of Christ*, either to be meant of an Essential, or an Accident; when all the world knows that

that whatsoever is acknowledged *to have been ever in the Church by Christs Institution*, cannot be meant of any *Accidental thing*, but of a necessary, *unchangeable*, and *essential thing*, in Christs true Church. If one should advance this proposition, *Whatsoever Congregation is the true Church of Christ, acknowledges the Eucharist ever to have been by Christs Institution*, a proper Sacrament of the new Law: and another should distinguish (as you do my proposition) This may be meant either of *an Essential or Accidental thing to Christs true Church*: Seeing whatsoever is acknowledged to have been always in Christs Church and instituted by Christ, cannot be acknowledged but as *necessary and essential* to his Church. If therefore my *Major*, as the terms lie expressed in it, be true, it should have been granted, if false, it should have been denied. But no Logick allows that it should be distinguished into such different members, whereof one is expressly excluded in the very terms of the Proposition. These distinctions therefore, though learned and substantial in themselves, yet were they here unreasonable, and too illogical to ground an answer in form (as you ground yours) still insisting upon them in your address almost to every proposition. Hence appears first, that I used no fallacy at all *ex Accidente*; seeing my proposition could not be verified of *an accident*. Secondly, that all your instances of *Spain, France, &c.* which include *Accidents*, are not apposite; because your propositions as they lie, have no term which excludes *Accidental Adjuncts*, as mine hath.

To the proof of my *Major*. Syl. 1.

You seem to grant the *Major* of my second Syllogism; not excepting any thing material against it.

To my *Minor*.

You fall again into the former distinctions, now dis-

proved and excluded, of the meaning of *Congregation*, &c. in my Proposition, and would have me to understand determinately either the whole Catholick Church, or some part of it, (and so make four terms in my Syllogism :) whereas in my *Minor*, *Congregation of Christians* is taken generically, and abstracts, as an universal from all particulars. I say *no Congregation*, which is an universal negative ; and when I say, none, *Save that Congregation which acknowledges Saint Peter, &c.* the term *Congregation* supposes for the same whole Catholick Church mentioned in my former Syllogism, but expresses it under a general term of *Congregation in confuso* ; as I express *Homo*, when I say he is *Animal*, a *man*, when I say he is a *living creature*, but only generically, or in *confuso*. Now should I have intended determinately either the whole Catholike Church, or any part of it, I should have made an inept Syllogism, which would have run thus. Whatsoever true Church of Christ is now the true Church of Christ, hath been alwaies visible, &c. But no true Church of Christ hath been always visible, save the true Church of Christ, which acknowledges Saint Peter, &c. *Ergo*, whatsoever true Church of Christ, is now the true Church acknowledges Saint Peter, &c. which would have been *idem per idem* ; for every one knows that the true Church of Christ, is now the true Church of Christ. But speaking, as I do in abstractive and generical terms, I avoid this absurdity, and frame a true Syllogism.

Now my meaning in this *Minor* could be no other then this, which my words express ; That the Congregation, that is, *the whole Congregation* acknowledges Saint Peter, &c. and is visible, &c. and not any part, great or small of it. For when I say, the Parliament of these Nations doth, or hath enacted a Statute, who would demand of me, whether I meant the whole Parliament, or
some

some determinate part of it? You should therefore have denyed, not thus distinguished my *Minor*, quite against the express words of it. What you say again of Essentials and Accidents, is already refuted; and by that also your Syllogism, brought by way of instance. For your Proposition doth not say, that the Church of *Rome* acknowledges those things were *always done*, and that by *Christs Institution*, as my Proposition says she acknowledges Saint *Peter* and his Successors.

To my third Syllogism.

Granting my *Major*, you distinguish the term *Pastors* in my *Minor*, into *particular* and *universal*, *fixed* and *unfixed*, &c. I answer, that the term *Pastors* (as before *Congregation*) signifies determinately no one of these but generically and *in confuso* all; and so abstracts from each of them in particular, as the word *Animal* abstracts from *homo* and *brutum*. Neither can I mean some parts of the Church only had Pastors; for I say, *whatsoever Congregation of Christians is now the true Church of Christ, hath always had visible Pastors and People united*. Now *the Church* is not a part but the whole Church, that is both the whole body of the Church, and all particular Churches the parts of it. And hence is solved your argument of the *Indians*, of people converted by lay-men, when particular Pastors are dead, &c. For those were subjects of the chief Bishop alone, till some inferior Pastors were sent to them. For when they were taught the Christian Doctrine, in the explication of that Article, *I believe the holy Catholick Church*, they were also taught, that they being people of Christs Church, must subject themselves to their lawful Pastors, this being a part of the Christian doctrine, *Heb. 12.* who though absent in body, may yet be present in spirit with them, as Saint *Paul* saith of himself, *1 Cor. 5. 3.*

Your Answer to the confirmation of my *Major* seems strange. For I speak of *visible* Pastors, and you say 'tis true of an *invisible* Pastor, that is, Christ our Saviour, who is now in heaven, *invisible* to men on earth. The rest is a repetition of what is immediatly before answered.

Ephes. 4. proves not only that some particular Churches, or part of the whole Church, must always have Pastors, but that the whole Church it self must have Pastors, and every particular Church in it; for it speaks of that Church which is *the Body of Christ*; which can be no lesse then the whole Church. For no particular Church alone is his mystical Body, but only a part of it.

Ephes. 4. is not directly alleged to prove an universal Monarch, (as you say) but to prove an uninterrupted continuance of visible Pastor; that being only affirmed in the proposition, which I prove by it. 2. This is already answered.

I stand to the judgement of any true Logician, nay or expert Lawyer, or rational person, whether a Negative proposition be to be proved otherwise then by obliging him who denies it, to give an instance to infringe it. Should you say, *no man hath right to my Benefice and Function in my Parish, save my self*; and another should deny what you said; would not you, or any rational man in your case answer him, that by denying your proposition he affirmed that some other had right to them, and to make good that affirmation was obliged to produce who that was: which till he did, you still remained the sole just possessor of your Benefice as before; and every one will judge that he had no reason to deny your assertion, when he brought no proof against it. This is our case.

The Contradiction which you would draw from this, against my *Nego, Concedo, &c.* exacted from the Respondent, and nothing else, follows not. For that prescripti-

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on is to be understood, that the Respondent of himself ; without scope given him by the opponent, was not to use any other forms in answering ; but if the opponent should require that the respondent give reasons or instances, or proofs, of what he denies, that then the Respondent is to proceed to them. And this is most ordinary in all Logical Disputations, where strict form is observed, and known to every young Logician. Instances therefore demanded by the opponent, were not excluded, but only such excursions out of form, as should proceed from the respondent, without being exacted by the opponent.

You say, though I make a Negative of it, I may put it in other terms at my pleasure. But the question is not what I may do, but what I did : I required not an Answer to an Argument, which I may frame, but to that which I had then framed, which was expressed in a negative proposition.

You tell me, if I prove the Popes universal Supremacy, you will be a Papist : And I tell you, I have proved it by this very Argument, That either *He* hath that supremacy, or some other Church ; denying that he hath alwaies had it, hath been always visible; and that Church I require should be named, if any such be, and whilest you refuse to name that Church (as here you do) you neither answer the Argument, nor become a Papist.

You say *I affirm, and I must prove.* I say in the Proposition, about which we now speak, I affirm not, & so must not prove; and you by denying it, must affirm, & so must prove.

You prove it is not your part here to prove, because the Popes Supremacy could not be denied, before it was affirmed ; and you must be obliged to prove that deniall. I oblige you not to prove a continued visible Church formally and expressly denying it, but that it was of such a constitution as was inconsistent with any such supremacy,

or could and did subsist without it; which is an Affirmative.

You affirm, that because I say you cannot be saved if you deny that Supremacy, and you say that I may be saved though I hold it, therefore you are not bound to prove what I reprove, but I to prove my negative proposition. But this would prove as well, that a Mahometan is not bound to prove his religion to you, but you to prove yours to him, because you say he cannot be saved being a Mahometan; and he says, that you may be saved being a Christian. See you not, that the obligation of proof in Logical form depends not of the first Position, or *Thesis*, but must be drawn from the immediate proposition, affirmative or negative, which is or ought to be proposed?

To what you say of an Accident and a corrupt part, I have already answered.

To what you say of a Vice-king, not being necessary to the constitution of a kingdom, but a king and subjects only, is true, if a vice-king be not instituted by the Full power of an absolute Authority over that kingdom, to be an Ingredient into the essence of the Kingdom, in the Kings absence: But if so constituted, it will be essential; now my proposition saith, and my Argument proves, that by the *Absolute Authority of Christ, Saint Peter and his Successors were instituted Governors in Christs place of his whole visible Church*; and whatsoever Government Christ institutes of his Church must be essential to his Church. You see now the Disparity.

You insist to have me prove a Negative; and I insist to have you prove that Affirmative, which you fall into by denying my Negative, and leave it to judgement, whose exaction is the more conform to reason, and Logical form.

But

But if I prove not here, say you, the whole Catholick Churches holding over the Popes Supremacy, you shall take it as a giving up my cause. I tell you again, that I have proved it by this very Argument, by force of Syllogistical form: and it is not reasonable to judge that I have given up my cause, if I prove not again, what I have already proved.

Your taking upon you the part of an Opponent now, is, you know, out of Season; when that is yours, mine shall be the Respondent.

AT length you give a fair attempt to satisfy your Obligation, and to return such an Instance as I demanded of you. But you are too free by much in your offer. I demand one Congregation, and you promise to produce more then an hundred. But as they abound in the number, so are they deficient in the quality which I require. I demand, *that the Answerer nominate any Congregation of Christians, which always till this present time since Christ hath been visible, &c.* and you tell me of more then an hundred Congregations, besides that which acknowledges Saint Peter, &c. whereof not any one hath been all that designed time visible: which is, as if I had demanded an Answerer to nominate any Family of Gentry, which hath successively continued ever since William the Conquerour till this present time; and he who undertakes to satisfy my demand, should nominate more then a hundred Families, whereof not so much as one continued half that time. You nominate first *all these present, the Greeks, Armenians, Ethiopians, besides the Protestants.* These you begin with. Now to satisfy my demand you must assert, that these, whom
you

you first name, are both one Congregation, and have been visible ever since Christs time. This you do not in the pursuit of your Allegations. For *Numb. 2.* you nominate none at all, but tell me, that *in the last age there were as many or more.* What were these *as many, or more?* were they the same: you nominated first, or others? I required some determinate Congregation to be nominated all the while, and you tell me of *as many or more,* but say not of what determinate congregation they were. In your *Num. 3.* you tell me, in the former ages, till one thousand, there *were near as many, or rather many more.* A fair account! But in the mean time you nominate none, much less prosecute you those with whom you begun. *Num. 4.* You say, in the year six hundred there *were many more incomparably.* What *many?* what *more?* were they the same which you nominated in the beginning, and made one Congregation with them? or were they quite different Congregations? what am I the wiser by your saying *many more incomparably,* when you tell me: not what, or who they were? Then you say, *But at least for four hundred years after Christ, I never yet saw valid proof of one Papist in all the world, that is, one that was for the Popes universal Monarchy, or vice-Christ-ship.* What then? are there no proofs in the world, but what you have seen? or may not many of those proofs be valid which you have seen, though you esteem them not so? and can you think it reasonable, upon your single *not-seeing, or not-judging* only, to conclude absolutely, as you here do, *that all have been against us for many hundred years?* In your *Num. 5.* You name *Ethiopia and India,* as having been without the limits of the *Roman Empire,* whom you deny to have acknowledged any Supremacy of power and authority above all other Bishops. You might have done well to have cited at least one ancient Au-
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thor for this Assertion. Were those primitive Christians of another kind of Church-order and Government; then were those under the *Roman* Empire * ? When the *Roman* Emperors were yet Heathens, had not the Bishop of *Rome* the Supremacy over all other Bishops through the whole Church ? and did those Heathen Emperors give it him ? How came St *Cyprian*, in time of the Heathen Empire to request *Stephen* the Pope to punish and depose the Bishop of *Arles*, as we shall see hereafter ? Had he that authority (think you) from an Heathen Emperor ? See now how little your Allegations are to the purpose, where you nominate any determinate Congregations to satisfy my demand.

* But how far from truth this is, appears from St. *Leo*, in his *Sermon de natali sui*; where he saies, *Sedes Romæ Petri, quicquid non possidet armis, Religio tenet*; and by this, That the *Abyssinians* of Ethiopia were under the Patriarch of Alexandria antiently, which Patriarch was under the Authority of the *Roman* Bishop, as we shall presently see.

I had no reason to demand of you different Congregations, of all sorts and Sects opposing the Supremacy, to have been shewn visible in all ages. I was not so ignorant, as not to know, that the *Nicolaitans*, *Valentinians*, *Gnosticks*, *Manichees*, *Montanists*, *Arians*, *Donatists*, *Nestorians*, *Eutychians*, *Pelagians*, *Iconoclasts*, *Berengarians*, *Waldensians*, *Albigenses*, *Wicleffites*, *Hussites*, *Lutherans*, *Calvinists*, &c. each following others, had some kind of visibility, divided and distracted each to his own respective age, from our time to the Apostles, in joyning their heads and hands together against the Popes Supremacy. But because these could not be called *one successive Congregation of Christians*, being all together by the ears amongst themselves; I should not have thought it a demand befitting a Scholar, to have required such a
visibili-

Visibility as this. Seeing therefore all you determinately
 nominate, are as much different as these; pardon me, if
 I take it not for any satisfaction at all to my demand, or
 acquittance of your obligation. Bring me a visible suc-
 cession of any *one* Congregation of Christians, of the
 same belief, profession, and communion, for the
 designed time, opposing that Supremacy, and you will
 have satisfied: but till that be done, I leave it to any
 equall judgement, whether my demand be satisfied or no.
 You answer to this, That all those who are nominated by
 you, are *parts of the Catholick Church, and so one Con-
 gregation*. But Sir, give me leave to tell you, that in your
 principles, you put both the Church of *Rome*, and your
 selves, to be parts of the Catholick Church: and yet sure
 you account them not one Congregation of Christians,
 seeing by separation one from another they are made two:
 or if you account them *one*, why did you separate your
 selves, and still remain separate from communion with
 the *Roman* Church? Why possessed you your selves of the
 Bishopricks and Cures of your own Prelates and Pastors,
 they yet living in *Queen Elizabeths* time? and drew both
 your selves and their other subjects from all subjection to
 them, and communion with them? Is this dis-union,
 think you, fit to make one and the same Congregation of
 you and them? Is not charity, subordination and obedi-
 ence to the same state and government required, as well
 to make one Congregation of Christians, as it is required
 to make one Congregation of Common-wealths men?
 Though therefore you do account them all parts of the
 Catholick Church, yet you cannot make them in your
 principles *one Congregation* of Christians. Secondly, your
 position is not true; the particulars named by you nei-
 ther are, nor can be parts of the Catholick Church; un-
 less you make *Arians*, and *Pelagians*, and *Donatists*,
 parts

parts of the Catholick Church: which were either to deny them to be Hereticks and Schismatics; or to affirm, that Hereticks and Schismatics separating themselves from the communion of the Catholick Church, notwithstanding that separation, do continue parts of the Catholick Church. For who knows not that the *Ethiopian*s to this day are * *Eutychian* Hereticks. And a great part of those Greeks and Armenians, who deny the Popes Supremacy, are infected with the Heresie of *Nestorius*, and all of them profess generally all those points of faith with us against you, wherein you differ from us; and deny to communicate with you, or to esteem you other then Hereticks and Schismatics, unless you both agree with them in those differences of Faith, and subject your selves to the obedience of the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, as to the chief Head and Governour of all Christian Churches next under Christ; and consequently as much a Vice-Christ, in your account, as the Pope can be conceived to be. See, if you please, *Hieremias* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, his Answer to the *Lutherans*, especially in the beginning and end of the Book; *Acta Theologorum Wittenbergensium*, &c. and Sir *Edwyn Sands*, of this Subject, in his Survey, p. 232, 233, 242, &c.

Either therefore you must make the Eutychians and Nestorians no Hereticks, and so contradict the Oecumenical Councils of *Ephesus* and *Chalcedon*, which con-

* See *Ross* his view of Religions, p 99, 489, 493 &c. Where he says that they circumcise their children the eighth day, they use Mosaiical Ceremonies. They mention not the Council of *Calcedon*, because (saies he) they are Eutychians & Jacobites, and confesses that their Patriarch is in subjection to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, &c. See more of the Chosri, Jacobites, Maronites, &c. p. 493, 494. where he confesses that many of them are now subject to the Pope, and have renounced their old errors.

demned

demned them as such ; and the consent of all Orthodox Christians, who ever since esteemed them no other ; or you must make condemned Hereticks parts of the Catholick Church, against all antiquity and Christianity. And for those Greeks near *Constantinople*, who are not infected with Nestorianism and Eutychianism, yet in the Procession of the Holy Ghost, against both us and you, they must be thought to maintain manifest Heresie ; it being a point in a fundamental matter of faith, the Trinity : and the difference betwixt those Greeks and the Western Church, now for many hundred of years, and in many General Councils esteemed and defined to be real and great ; yea so great, that the Greeks left the Communion of the *Roman* Church upon that difference alone, and ever esteemed the Bishop of * *Rome* and his party to have fallen from the true faith, and lost his ancient Authority by that sole pretended error, and the Latins always esteemed the Greeks to be in a damnable error, in maintaining the contrary to the doctrine of the *Western* or *Roman* Church in that particular. And yet sure they understood what they held, and how far they differed one from another, much better then some Novel Writers of yours, who prest by force of Argument, have no other way left them to maintain a perpetual visibility then by extenuating that difference of *Procession* betwixt the Greek and Latin Church, which so many ages before Protestantism sprung up, was esteemed a main fundamental error by both parts, caused the Greeks to abandon all subjection and Communion to the Bishops of *Rome*, made them so divided the one from the other, that they held each other Hereticks, Schismaticks, and desertors of the true Faith, as they continue still to do to this day, and yet you will have them both parts of the Catholick Church.

* See *Niles* on this Subject.

But

But when you have made the best you can of these *Greeks, Armenians, Ethiopians, Protestants*, whom you first name, you neither have deduced, nor can deduce them successively in all ages till Christ, *as a different Congregation of Christians, from that which holds the Popes Supremacy*; which was my Proposition. For in the year 1500. those who became the first Protestants, were not a Congregation different from those who held that supremacy; nor in the year 500 were the Greeks a visible Congregation *different from it*; nor in the year 300, were the Nestorians; nor in the year 200. the Eutychians *a different Congregation from those who held the said Supremacy*: But in those respective years, those who first begun those Heresies, were involved within that Congregation, which held it, as a part of it, and assenting therein with it: who after in their several ages and beginnings fell off from it, as dead branches from the tree; that, still remaining what it ever was, and *only* continuing in a perpetuall visibility of succession.

Though therefore you profess never to have seen convincing proof of this in the first 400 years, and labour to infringe it in the next ages, yet I will make an Essay to give you a taste of those innumerable proofs of this *visible consent* in the Bishop of *Rome's* Supremacy, not of Order only, but of *Power, Authority and jurisdiction* over all other Bishops, in the ensuing instances, which happened within the first 400, or 500, or 600 years.

(a) *John* Bishop of *Antioch* makes an Appeal to Pope *Simplicius*. And *Flavianus* (b) Bishop of *Constantinople*, being deposed in the false Council of *Ephesus*, immediately appeals to the Pope, as to his judge. (c) *Theo-*

(a) *Liberatus in Brev. c. 16.* (b) *Epist. praeambula. Concil. Chalcedon.* (c) *Concil. Chalcedon. Act. 1.*

doret was by Pope *Leo* restored, and that by an (d) appeal unto a just judgement. (e) Saint *Cyprian* desires Pope *Stephen* to depose *Marcian* Bishop of *Arles*, that another might be substituted in his place. And to evince the supream Authority of the Bishops of *Rome*, it is determined in the (f) Council of *Sardis*, That no Bishop deposed by other neighbouring Bishops, pretending to be heard again, was to have any successor appointed, untill the case were defined by the Pope. *Eustachius* (g) Bishop of *Sebast* in *Armenia* was restored by Pope *Liberius* his Letters read and received in the Council of *Tyana*; and (h) Saint *Chrysostome* expressly desires Pope *Innocent* not to punish his Adversaries, if they do repent: Which evinces that Saint *Chrysostome* thought that the Pope had power to punish them. And the like is written to the Pope by the (i) Council of *Ephesus*, in the case of *John* Bishop of *Antioch*.

(k) The Bishops of the Greek, or Eastern Church, who sided with *Arius*, before they declared themselves to be Arians, sent their Legates to *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, to have their cause heard before him against S. *Athanasius*; the same did S. *Athanasius* to defend himself against them: which Arian Bishops having understood from *Julius*, that their Accusations against S. *Athanasius*, upon due examination of both parties, were found groundless and false, required (rather fraudulently, then seriously) to have a fuller Tryal before a General Council at *Rome*: which (to take away all shew of excuse from them) Pope *Ju-*

(d) *Concil. Chalcedon. Act. 8.* (e) *S. Cyprian. Epist. 67.* (f) *Concil. Sard. cap. 4.* cited by S. *Athan. Apol. 2. page 753.* (g) *St. Basil. Epist. 74.* (h) *St. Chrysost. Epist. 2. ad Innocent.* (i) *Concil. Ephes. p. 2. Act. 5.* (k) *St. Athanas. ad Solit. Epist. Julius in lit. ad Arian ap. Athan. Apol. 1. pag. 753. Theodoret lib. 2. cap. 4. Athanas. Apol. 2. Zozim. lib. 3. cap. 7.*

was assembled. Saint *Athanasius* was summoned by the Pope to appear before him and the * Council in Judgement : which he presently did, (and many other Eastern Bishops unjustly accused by the Arians aforesaid, had recourse to *Rome* with him,) and expected there a year and half : All which time his Accusers (though also summoned) appeared not, fearing they should be condemned by the Pope and his Council. Yet they pretended not (as Protestants have done in these last ages of the Kings of *England*) That *Constantius*, the Arian Emperour of the East, was Head, or chief Governour over their Church in all Causes Ecclesiastical ; and consequently that the Pope had nothing to do with them ; but only pretended certain frivolous excuses to delay their appearance from one time to another. Where it is worth the noting, that *Julius*, reprehending the said *Arian* Bishops (before they published their Heresie, and so taking them to be Catholics) for condemning S. *Athanasius* in an Eastern Council, gathered by them before they had acquainted the Bishop of *Rome* with so important a cause, useth these words, *An ignari essis hanc consuetudinem esse, ut primum nobis scribatur ; ut hinc quod*

* The Appeal of *Theodoret* from that Council as to his judge, is so undeniable that *Chamier* is forced to acknowledge it. *Tom. 2. l. 13. c. 9. p. 498.* and the whole Council of *Calcedon*, acknowledged the right of that Appeal, restoring *Theodoret* to his Bishoprick, by force of an Order given upon that Appeal by *Leo* Pope to restore him.

Concerning Saint *Athanasius* being judged and righted by *Julius* Pope, *Chamier* cit. p. 497. acknowledges the matter of fact to be so, but against all antiquity, pretends that judgment to have been unjust. Which, had it been so, yet it shews a true power of judging in the Pope, though then unduly executed ; otherwise Saint *Athanasius*, would never have made use of it, neither can it be condemned of injustice, unless Saint *Athanasius* be also condemned as unjust, in consenting to it.

justum est, definiri possit, &c. Are you ignorant, saith he, that this is the custom, to write to us first, That hence that which is just may be defined, &c. where most clearly it appears, that it belonged particularly to the Bishop of Rome to passe a definitive sentence even against the Bishops of the Eastern, or Greek Church; which yet is more confirmed by the proceedings of Pope *Innocent* the first, about 12. hundred years since in the case of *S. Chrysostome*: Where first Saint *Chrysostome* appeals to *Innocentius* from the Council assembled at *Constantinople*, where in he was condemned. Secondly, *Innocentius* annuls his condemnation, and declares him innocent. Thirdly, he Excommunicates *Atticus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, and *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria* for persecuting *S. Chrysostome*. Fourthly, after *S. Chrysostome* was dead in Banishment, Pope *Innocentius* Excommunicates *Arcadius* the Emperour of the East, and *Eudoxia* his wife. Fifthly, the Emperour and Empress humble themselves, crave pardon of him, and were absolved by him. The same is evident in those matters which passed about the year 450. where *Theodosius* the Emperour of the East having too much favoured the Eutychian Hereticks by the infliction of *Chrysaphius* the Eunuch, and *Pulcheria* his Empress, and so intermeddled too far in Ecclesiasticall causes, yet he ever bore that respect to the See of Rome, (which doubtless in those circumstances he would not

Niceph. lib. 13. cap. 34. Chamier. cit. p. 498. says, other Bishops restored those who were wrongfully deposed, as well as the Pope. Which though it were so, yet never was there any single Bishop save the Pope, who restored any who were out of their respective Dioceses, or Patriarchates, but always collected together in a Synod, by common voice, and that in regard only of their neighbouring Bishops, whereas the Bishop of Rome by his sole and single authority, restored Bishops wrongfully deposed all the Church over.

have done, had he not beleev'd it an Obligation) that he would not permit the Eutychian Council at *Ephesus* to be assembled without the knowledge and authority of the Roman Bishop *Leo* the first; and so wrote to him to have his presence in it, who sent his Legats unto them. And though both *Leo's* letters were dissembled, and his Legate affronted, and himself excommunicated by wicked *Dioscorus*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and president of that Conventicle, who also was the chief upholder of the Eutychians, yet *Theodosius* repented before his death, banished his wife *Pulcheria* and *Chrysaphius* the Eunuch, the chief favourers of the Eutychians, and reconciled himself to the Church with great evidences of sorrow and penance.

(m) Presently after, *An. 451*. follows the fourth General Council of *Chalcedon*: concerning which these particulars occur to our present purpose. First, *Martianus* the Eastern Emperour wrote to Pope *Leo*, That by the Popes Authority a General Council might be gathered in what City of the Eastern Church he should please to chuse. Secondly, both *Anatolius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and the rest of the Eastern Bishops, sent to the Legats of Pope *Leo*, by his order, the profession of their faith. Thirdly, the Popes Legats sate in the first place of the Council before all the Patriarchs. (n) Fourthly, they prohibited (by his order given them) That *Dioscorus* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and chief upholder of the *Eutychians*, should sit in the Council; but be presented as a guilty person to be judged: because he had celebrated a Council in the Eastern Church without the consent of the Bishop of *Rome*; which (said the Legats) never was done before, nor could be done lawfully. This order of Pope *Leo* was presently put in execution by consent of the whole Council, and *Dioscorus* was judged and condemned; his

(m) *Council. Chalced. Act. 1.* (n) *Council. Chalced. Act 3.*

condemnation and deposition being pronounced by the Popes Legats, and after subscribed by the Council.

Fifthly, the Popes Legats pronounced the Church of *Rome* to be * *Caput omnium Ecclesiarum*, the Head of all Churches, before the whole Council, and none contradicted them. Sixtly, all the Fathers assembled in that Holy Council, in their Letter to Pope *Leo*, acknowledged themselves to be *his children*, and wrote to him as to *their Father*. Seventhly, they humbly begged of him, that he would grant, that the Patriarch of *Constantinople* might have the first place among the Patriarchs, after that of *Rome*: which notwithstanding that the Council had consented to (as had also the third General Council of *Ephesus* done before) yet they esteemed their grants to be of no sufficient force, untill they were confirmed by the Pope. And *Leo* thought not fit to yeeld to their petition, against the express ordination of the first Council of *Nice*; where *Alexandria* had the preheminence, as also *Antioch* and *Hiersusalem*, before that of *Constantinople*.

Saint *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, though he wholly disallowed *Nestorius* his doctrine, yet he would not break off

* Which could not be by reason of the Sanctity and truth which was then in it; for the Church of *Milan*, and many others in *France*, *Africa*, and *Greece* were also then pure and holy, and yet none have this title, save the Church of *Rome*.

In the time of *Justinian* the Emperour, *Agapet* Pope, even in *Constantinople*, against the will both of the Emperour and Empress, deposed *Anthimus*, and ordained *Meunus* in his place. *Liberat. in Breviario. cap. 22. Marcellinus. Comes in Chronico. Concil. Constantin. sub Meunus. act. 4.* And the same *S. Grey. c. 7. ep. 63.* declares that both the Emperour and Bishop of *Constantinople* acknowledged that the Church of *Constantinople* was subject to the See of *Rome*. And *l. 7. Ep. 37.* *Et alibi* pronounceth, that in case of falling into offences, he knew no Bishop which was not subject to the Bishop of *Rome*.

Com-

Communion with him till *Celestine* the Pope had condemned him; whose censure he required and expected. *Nestorius* also wrote to *Celestine* acknowledging his Authority, and expecting from him the censure of his doctrine. *Celestine* condemned *Nestorius*, and gave him the space of ten daies to repent, after he had received his condemnation. All which had effect in the Eastern Church, where *Nestorius* was Patriarch of *Constantinople*. (o) After this Saint *Cyrill* having received Pope *Leo's* Letters, wherein he gave power to Saint *Cyril* to execute his condemnation against *Nestorius*, and to send his condemnatory letters to him, gathered a Council of his next Bishops, and sent Letters and Articles to be subscribed, with the Letters of *Celestine* to *Nestorius*; which when *Nestorius* had received he was so far from repentance, that he accused St. *Cyril* in those Articles, to be guilty of the Heresie of *Apollinaris*: so that St. *Cyril* being also accused of Heresie, was barred from pronouncing sentence against *Nestorius*, so long as he stood charged with that Accusation. *Theodosius* the Emperour, seeing the Eastern Church embroiled in these difficulties, writes to Pope *Celestine* about the assembling of a general Council at *Ephesus* by *Petronius* afterwards Bishop of *Bavonia* (as is manifest in his life written by *Sigismund*) Pope in his Letters to *Theodosius*, not only professeth his consent to the calling of that Council, but also prescribeth in what form it was to be celebrated; as *Firmus* Bishop of *Cesarea* in *Cappadocia* testified in the Council of *Ephesus*. Hereupon *Theodosius* sent his Letters to assemble the Bishops both of the East and West to that Council. And *Celestine* sent his Legats thither, with order not to examine again in the Council the cause of

(o) S. Auguſt. Tom. 1. *Epist. Rom. Pontif. post Epist. 1. ad Celestinum.*

Nestorius, but rather to put *Celestine's* condemnation of him, given the year before, into execution. *S. Cyril* Bishop of *Alexandria*, being constituted by *Celestine* his chief Legate ordinary in the East, by reason of that prebeminency, and primacy of his See after that of *Rome*, presided in the Council: yet so, that *Philip*, who was only a Priest and no Bishop, by reason that he was sent *Legatus à Latere*, from *Celestine*, and so supplied his place, as he was chief Bishop of the Church, subscribed the first, even before *S. Cyril*, and all the other Legats and Patriarchs. In the sixth Action of this holy Council, *Juvenalis* patriarch of *Hierusalem*, having understood the contempt, which *John* patriarch of *Antioch*, who was cited before the Council, shewed of the Bishops and the Popes Legats there assembled, expressed himself against him in these words, *Quod Apostolica ordinatione & Antiqua Traditione* (which were noway opposed by the Fathers there present) *Antiochena sedes perpetuo à Romana diregeretur iudicareturque*, That by Apostolical ordination and ancient Tradition the See of *Antioch* was perpetually directed and judged by the See of *Rome*: which words not only evidence the precedency of place as Dr. *Hammond* would have it, but of power and judicature in the Bishop of *Rome* over a Patriarch of the Eastern Church; and that derived from the time and ordination of the Apostles. The Council therefore sent their decrees, with their condemnation of *Nestorius*, to Pope *Celestine*, who presently ratified and confirmed them.

Not long after this, in the year 445. *Valentinian* the Emperour makes this *manifesto* of the most high Ecclesiastical authority of the See of *Rome*, in these words: "Seeing that the merit of *S. Peter*, who is the Prince of
" the Episcopal Crown, and the Dignity of the City of
" *Rome*, and no less the authority of the holy Synod, hath
citi-

established the primacy of the Apostolical See, lest
 presumption should attempt any unlawful thing against
 the authority of that * See, (for then finally will the
 peace of the Churches be preserved every where, if
 the whole universality acknowledge their Governour)
 when these things had been hitherto inviolably obser-
 ved, &c. Where he makes the succession from *S. Peter*
 to be the first foundation of the *Roman* Churches pri-
 macy; and his authority to be, not only in place, but in
 power and government over the whole visible Church.
 And adds presently, that the definitive sentence of the
 Bishop of *Rome*, given against any French Bishop, was to
 be of force through *France*, even without the Emperors
 Letters Patents. For what shall not be lawful for the au-
 thority of so great a Bishop to exercise upon the Churches?
 and then adds his Imperial precept in these words. "But
 this occasion hath provoked also our command, that
 hereafter it shall not be lawful neither for *Hilarinus*
 (whom to be still intituled a Bishop, the sole humanity
 of the meek Prelate (*i.e.* the Bishop of *Rome*) permits)
 neither for any other to mingle arms with Ecclesiastical
 matters; or to resist the commands of the Bishop of
Rome, &c. We define by this our perpetual decree, that
 it shall neither be lawful for the *French* Bishops, nor for
 those of other Provinces, against the ancient custom, to
 attempt any thing without the authority of the venera-
 ble Pope of the eternal City: But let it be for a law to
 them and to all, whatsoever the authority of the Apo-
 stolick See hath determined, or shall determine. So that
 what Bishop soever being called to the Tribunal of the
Roman Bishop, shall neglect to come, is to be com-
 pelled by the Governour of the same Province, to
 present himself before him. Which evidently proves,

* See this at length in *Baronius*, in the year 445.

that the highest, Universal, Ecclesiastical Judge and Governour was, and ever is to be the Bishop of *Rome*, which the Council of *Chalcedon* before mentioned, plainly owned, when writing to Pope *Leo* they say, "*Thou governest us, as the head doth the members, contributing thy good will by those which hold thy place.*" Behold a Primacy, not only of Precedency, but of Government and Authority; which *Lerinenfis* confirms, *contr. Heres. cap. 9.* where speaking of *Stephen* Pope, he saies, *Dignum, et opinor, existimans, si reliquos omnes tantum fidei devotione, quantum loci autoritate; superabas:* esteeming it (as I think) a thing worthy of himself, if he overcame all others as much in the devotion of faith, as he did in the Authority of his place. And to confirm what this universal Authority was; he affirms, that he sent a Law, Decree, or Command into *Africa*, (*Sanxit,*) That in matter of re-baptization of Hereticks nothing should be innovated; which was a manifest argument of his Spiritual Authority over those of *Africa*; and à *paritate rationis*, over all others. I will shut up all with that which was publicly pronounced, and no way contradicted, and consequently assented to in the Council of *Ephesus*, (one of the four first general Councils) in this matter, *Tom. 2. Concil. p. 327. Aët. 1.* where *Philip* Priest and Legat of Pope *Celestine*, saies thus, "*Gratias agimus sanctæ venerationis synodo, quod literis sancti beatique Papæ nostri vobis recitatis, sanctas chartas, sanctis vestris vocibus, sancto capiti vestro, sanctis vestris exclamationibus, exhibueritis. Non enim ignorat vestra beatitudo, totius fidei, vel etiam Apostolorum, caput esse beatum Apostolum Petrum.*" And the same *Philip, Aët. 3. p. 330.* proceeds in this manner, *Nulli dubium, imo sæculis omnibus notum est, quod sanctus*

* *Epi. 9. Concil. ad Leon. Pap. Aët. 1. & sequ.*

" beatissimusque Petrus, Apostolorum Princeps & caput,
 " *Fideiq; columna, Ecclesia Catholica Fundamentum,* à
 " Domino nostro Jesu Christo, Salvatore generis huma-
 " ni ac redemptore nostro claves regni accepit, solvendiq;
 " ac ligandi peccata potestas ipsi data est; qui *ad hoc us-*
 " *que tempus ac semper* in suis successoribus vivit & ju-
 " *dicium exercet*:— Hujus itaque secundum ordinem
 successor & *locum-tenens*, sanctus beatissimusque Papa
 noster Celestinus, nos ipsius praesentiam supplentes huc
 misit. And *Areadius* another of the Popes Legats in-
 veighing against the Heretick *Nestorius*, accuses him,
 (though he was Patriarch of *Constantinople*, which this
 Council requires to be next in dignity after *Rome*) as of a
 great crime, that he *contemned the command of the Aposto-*
lick See, that is, of Pope *Celestine*. Now had Pope *Celestine*
 had no power to command him (and by the like reason to
 command all other Bishops) he had committed no fault
 in transgressing and contemning his command. By these
 testimonies it will appear, that what you are pleased to say,
That the most part of the Catholick Church hath been a-
gainst us to this day, and all for many hundred of years, is
 far from truth: seeing in the time of the holy Oecumenical
 Councils of *Ephesus* and *Chalcedon*, the universal consent
 of the whole Catholick Church was for us in this point.

For the age 600 see *S. Gregory Pope, l. 10. ep. 30* where Here-
 ticks and Schismaticks repenting, were received then into the
 Church, upon solemn promise, and publick protestation, that they
 would never any more separate from, but always remain in the
 unity of the Catholick Church, and communion in all things
 with the Bishop of *Rome*.

As to what you say of *Congregation of Christians*, in
 the beginning, I answer, I took the word *Christians* in a
 large sense, comprehending in it all those (as it is vulgarly
 taken) who are baptized and profess to beleeve in Christ,
 and

and are distinguished from Jews, Mahumetans and Heathens, under the denomination of Christians.

What you often say of an universal Monarch, &c. if you take Monarch for an Imperious sole Commander, as temporal Kings are, we acknowledge no such Monarch in the Church: if only for one who hath received power from Christ in meekness, charity, and humility, to govern all the rest, for their own eternal good, as brethren or children, we grant it.

What also you often repeat of a *Vice-christ*, we much dislike that title, as proud and insolent, and utterly disclaim from it; neither was it ever given by any sufficient Authority to our Popes, or did they ever accept of it.

As to the Council of *Constance*, they never questioned the Supremacy of the Pope, as ordinary chief Governour of all Bishops and people in the whole Church: nay they expressly give it to *Martinus Quintus*, when he was chosen.

But in extraordinary cases, especially when it is doubtful who is true Pope, as it was in the beginning of this Council, till *Martinus Quintus* was chosen: whether any extraordinary power be in a general Council, above that ordinary power of the Pope: which is a question disputed by some amongst our selves, but touches not the matter in hand; which proceeds only of the ordinary and constant Supreme Pastor of all Christians, abstracting from extraordinary tribunals and powers, which are seldom found in the Church, and collected only occasionally, and upon extraordinary accidents.

Thus honoured Sir, I have as much as my occasions would permit me, hastened a Reply to your Answer; and if more be requisite, it shall not be denied. Only please to give me leave to tell you, that I cannot conceive my Argument yet answer'd by all you have said to it.

Feb. 3. 1658.

William Johnson.

Novelty



Novelty Represt :

In a Rejoynder to Mr. Baxters Reply
to William Johnson.

The First Part.

CHAP. I.

ARGUMENT :

Num. 1. *Exordium.* n. 3. *Assembly and Congregation not different.* n. 5. *Acknowledgment or Denial, of what is Essential to the Church is it self Essential to the constitution or destruction of the Church;* my words mis-cited, by omitting the word *ever.* n. 7. *Three Fallacies discovered.* Franciscus à S^a Clara mis-alleged. n. 13. *Congregations of Christians and Church not Synonyma's.* n. 16, 17. *Nothing instituted by Christ to be ever in his Church, can be accidental to his Church.* n. 19. *Though universals exist not, yet particulars which exist, may be express in universal, or abstractive terms.* n. 20. *Many things necessary to the whole Church, which are*
not

not necessary for every particular Christian.
 num. 21, 22. Christ now no visible Pastor of the
 Church militant, though his person in heaven
 be visible. n. 22. A visible Body, without a vi-
 sible Head, is a Monster: Such is Mr. Baxters
 Church.

Mr. Baxter.

SIR,

Num. 1. **T**He multitude and urgency of my employments
 gave me not leave till this day (May 2.) so
 much as to read over all your Papers; but I shall be as
 loath to break off our disputation as you can be, though
 perhaps necessity may sometime cause some weeks delay.
 And again, I profess my indignation against the hypo-
 criticall juggling of this age doth provoke me to welcome
 so Ingenuous and Candid a Disputant as your self,
 with great content. But I must confess also, that I
 was the lesse hastie in sending you this Reply, because I
 desired you might have leasure to peruse a Book, which I
 published since your last, (a Key for Catholicks) seeing
 that I have there answered you already, and that more
 largely, then I am like to doe in this Reply. For the sharp-
 ness of that I must crave your patience, the persons and
 cause I thought required it.

William Johnson.

Num. 1. Sir, Your Plea is my Defence; I had my
 imployments, and those of great concern, as much as
 you; which have hitherto detained me from accomplish-
 ing this Reply. I have my Adversaries as well as you;
 and

and no lesse then three at once in Print against me, yet the esteem I have of your worth, hath exacted from me to desist a while, from what I had begun in Answer to the chief of them, that I might bestow the whole time on you; which notwithstanding was lately interrupted (even when I was drawing towards an end) by an unexpected and unrefusable occasion; which hath already taken from me many weeks, and is like to deprive me of many more. Some small time (an *interstitium*) (through the absence of my Adversary) hath afforded me; and that hath drawn the work almost to a period. I have not hitherto had any leisure to peruse *your Key*; and indeed what you here acknowledge of it, *Sharpness*, deterrs me from meddling any further with it, then what may be occasioned in this your Answer. I finde even this, (in several passages) of a relish tart enough; but I can bear with that, and I hope, observe a moderation, where passion speaks against my cause or me. For I tell you truly, I had rather shew my self a patient Christian, then a passionate Controvertist: What reason utters, will have power with rational men: Passion never begins to speak, but when reason is struck dumb, and so cannot speak according to reason.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 2. *If you will not be precise in arguing, you had little reason to expect, (much lesse so strictly to exact) a precise Answer; which cannot be made, as you prescribed, to an Argument not precise. I therefore expect accordingly, that the unlearned be not made the Judges of a Dispute, which they are not fit to judge of; seeing you desire us to avoid their road.*

Will.

William Johnson.

Num. 2. When I press you to as much brevity, as my first Adversary press me, I shall require no more; and shall easily bear with *penetrations* of *Syllogisms*, and immediate consequences, when they are proveable in lawfull form. My chief care was to obstruct all excursions, amplifications, and irregularities quite out of form, and all Sophisms and Fallacies; which I have avoided. When the learned are sufficiently informed, I hope they will have so watchful a care of conscience, and Christian charity, that they will impart, what they finde to be truth, to the ignorant. And this I expected signally from you, in whom I discovered a fervent desire to publish what you thought truth to every one.

Baxter.

Num. 3. *And by a Congregation of Christians you may mean Christians politically related to one Head, whether Christ, or the Pope. But the word Assemblies expresseth their actual Assembling together, and so excludeth all Christians that are, or were members of no particular Assemblies, from having relation to Christ (our Head,) or the Pope (your Head) and so from being of the Congregation, as you call, the Church universal.*

Johnson.

Num. 3. *Assembly implies no more an actual assembling, then Congregation an actual congregating: prove it does. They are both taken in the same sense, in Scripture and approved Authors, and comprised in the word *ecclē*; and the one as capable to include a head and members subject to it, as the other.*

Baxter.

Baxter.

Num. 4. *I had great reason to avoid the snare of an Equivocation, or ambiguity, of which you gave me cause of jealousy by your whatsoever, as I to'd you, as seeming to intimate a false supposition. To your like, I answer, it is unlike, and still more intimates the false supposition. Whatsoever Congregation of men is the Common-wealth of England, is a phrase that importeth, that there is a Congregation of men, which is not the common-wealth of England; which is true, there being more men in the world; so, Whatsoever Congregation of Christians is now the true Church, doth seem to import that you suppose, there is a Congregation of Christians, univocally so called. that are not the true Church, which you would distinguish from the other; which I only let you know at the entrance, that I deny, that you may not think it granted.*

Johnson.

Num. 4. My Similit is alike in what I press it, *Viz.* That no man can rightly understand me (as you do) to mean by *Congregation* a part of the Church, when I say it is the whole Church. The disparity mentioned by you shall hereafter be examined, when I come to confute your Novelty in that point. In the interim, you may please to take notice, that there are as well *Congregations of Christians* univocally so called, which are not the Church, as there are of *men*, which are not the Common-wealth of *England*. Such are the Senate of *Venice*, the Common-Council of *London*, the Parliament of *Paris*; &c.

Baxter.

Num. 5. *Yet I must tell you, that nothing is more ordinary, then for the body to be said to do that, which a part*
 E of

of it only doth; as that the Church administ'reth Sacraments, Discipline, Teacheth, &c. The Church is assembled in such a Council, &c. when yet it is but a small part of the Church that doth these things: And when Bellarmine, Gresser, &c. say, the Church is the infallible Judge of controversies, they mean not the whole Church, which containeth every Christian, when they tell you that it is the Pope they mean. And therefore I had reason to inquire into your sense, unless I would willfully be over-reach't.

Johnson.

Num. 5. This is a meer *Parergon*, for I declare in my Thesis, that I speak only of that Church, out of which no man can be saved, (as appears in your Edition p. 2.) which is not, cannot be the Church representative in a Council; for then none could be saved, who are out of that Council.

Baxter.

Num. 6. You now satisfy me that you mean it universally, viz. All that Congregation (or Church) of Christians, which is now the true Church of Christ, doth acknowledge, &c. which I told you, I deny.

Johnson.

Num. 6. By this appears how inappositely, you propounded the question, Whether I meant by *Congregation* in my Proposition the whole Church, or only some part of it, seeing it was manifest I could not mean any part of it by that word.

Baxter.

To my following distinction you say, That all the world knows that whatsoever is acknowledged to have been ever

ever in the Church by Christs Institution; cannot be meant of any accidentall thing, but of a necessary, unchangeable and essential thing in Christs true Church; To which I reply, either you see the grosse fallacy of this defence, or you do not: If you do not, then never more call for an exalt Disputant, nor look to be delivered from your Errors by Argumentation, though never so convincing: If you do, then you are not faithful to the Truth. In your Major Proposition the words being many, (as you say, you penetrated divers Arguments together) ambiguities were the easier hidden in the heap. That which I told you is accidental to the Church, (and that but to a corrupted part) was the acknowledging of the Papacy, as of Christs Institution: and therefore if it *Fallacy 1.* were granted, that a thing of Christs Institution could not be accidental, yet the acknowledgement, that is, the opinion or asserting of it, may. If the Church by mistake should think that to be essential to it, which is not, though it will not thence follow, that its essence is but an accident, yet it will follow that both the false opinion, and the thing it self so false conceited to be essential, are but accidents, or not essential. You say it cannot be meant of any accidentall thing. But 1. That meaning it self of theirs may be an accident. 2. And the question is not what they mean, that is, imagine, or affirm it to be, but what it is in deed and truth. That may be an accident, which they think to be none.

Johnson.

Num. 7. Sir, The fallacy is not in my Proposition, but in your understanding. You assert, that the Sovereignty of the Pope, is as accidental to the Church, (as will hereafter appear) as pride and cruelty is to the Spanish Na-

tion; and therefore the Acknowledgement of it is Accidental: for if the acknowledgement be in a matter Essential, it self must also be Essential, either to the constitution, or destruction of the Catholick Faith. For the Essence of Faith requires, that all Essentials be believed, And it must be destructive of Faith, to believe any thing to be Essential, and absolutely necessary to Christian Faith, which is a meer Accident, and non-Essential. For such an Error constitutes a false Christian, and teaches that to be Essentially Christian Religion, which is a Falsity in Christian Religion. If therefore the whole Church (as I affirm) hold the Popes Supremacy to be by Christs Institution, that is, to be essential to the Church, (as you admit for the present) and it be not by his Institution, the Church errs in an Essential matter; which error is not Accidental to the Church, that is, such an error, that the Church can subsist as truly with it, as without it, but essentially destructive of the Church. If the Popes Supremacy be by Christs Institution and thereby Essential, (as you now suppose) the Churches acknowledgement that it is so, is not accidental, but necessary and essential to the subsistence of the Church. So that to admit (as you do here) the thing it self, that *whatsoever is of Christs Institution is Essential*, and yet to make the acknowledgement of its Essentiality by the whole Church, to be Accidental to the Church, is strange Divinity, and one of your grand Novelties. I intreat you therefore to tell me in your next, what makes the *Arrian* Heresie (as you hold) destructive of Christianity, and an essential Error, save this onely, that it is against a point essential to Christian Faith? And I think, I have as much reason to hold the Error, either contradicting that which is Essential to Christianity, or asserting that, as *Essential*, which is onely Accidental, to be an Essential Error

Error against Christian Faith, as was that of the *Arrians*. For it had been doubtless, an essential Error in Faith, and destructive of Christianity, not onely to deny the Consubstantiality of the Father and the Son, but also to deny, that consubstantially and the belief of it to be essential to the Christian Faith, and necessary to the constitution of Christianity. Your Fallacy therefore consists in this, that you suppose, all that Christ hath instituted to be Essential to the Church, and yet in that very supposition, make the acknowledgement of the whole Church, that such a thing is instituted by Christ, to be accidental to the Church: Of which more hereafter.

Baxter.

Num.8. *But that which you say all the world knows, is a thing, that all the world of Christians except your selves, that ever I heard of, do know, or acknowledge to be false. what! doth all the world know, that Christ hath instituted in his Church nothing, but what is Essential to it? I should hope, that few in the Christian world be so ignorant, as ever to have such a thought, if they had the means of knowledge that Protestants would have them have.* There is no natural Body, but hath natural Accidents, as well as Essence: Nor is there any other Society under Heaven (Community, or Policy) that hath not its Accidents, as well as Essence. And yet hath Christ instituted a Church, that hath nothing but Essence, without Accidents? Do you build upon such Foundations? what! upon the denial of Common Principles and Sense? But if you did, you should not have feigned all the world to do so too. were your Assertion true, then every soul were cut off from the Church, and so from Salvation, that wanted any thing of Christs Institution, yea for a moment. And then what

Fallacy 2.
Corruption 1.

would become of you? You give me an Instance in the Eucharist. But 1. will it follow, that if the Eucharist be not Accidental, or Integral, but Essential, that therefore Every thing instituted by Christ is Essential?

Johnson.

Num. 8. Sir, Your Answer proceeds fallaciously, & *particulari ad universale*. I say, that is Essential which hath been ever in the Church by Christs Institution, and you accuse me to say, *whatsoever is of Christs Institution is Essential*, leaving out *which hath been ever in the Church by his Institution*. Shew me therefore something which hath been ever, that is, in all ages, in the Church by Christs Institution, which is Accidental to the Church. Till that be done, you have answered your own Fallacy, not my Proposition. Whence appears the vanity of your instancing in a *Politick Body without Accidents*. For those things which Christ instituted to be as Things Temporary, or for a time, not for ever, were Accidents, as some Ceremonies in his last Supper, the washing of Feet, and other matters belonging to the order and decency, as different circumstances require, in the Church; which by Christs Institution were left to the direction of the Church, are Accidents to the Church. So that I say not, nor ever said, that Christ hath instituted a Politick Body without Accidents (as you misconceivingly accuse me) but that whatsoever he instituted to be ever in his Church, is none of those Accidents. You should do well to reflect more punctually upon your Adversaries words, and not to leave out such terms as give the whole force and Energie to his Proposition: For if this be not done, an Answer may be prolong'd till Dooms-day, by multiplying mistakes one upon another to no end.

Baxter.

Numb. 9. *The question being not, whether the Being of the Eucharist in the Church be Essential to the universal Church; but whether the Belief, or Acknowledgement of it by all and every one of the members be Essential to the members? I would crave your Answer but to this Question, (though it be nothing to my cause) Was Fallacy 9. not a Baptized-person, in the Primitive and Ancient Churches, a true Church-member, presently upon Baptism? And then tell me also, Did not the Ancient Fathers and Churches unanimously hide from their Catechumens (even purposely hide) the Mystery of the Eucharist, as proper to the Church to understand? and never opened it to the Auditors, till they were Baptized? This is most undeniable in the concurrent vote of the Ancients. I think therefore, that it follows, that in the judgement of the Ancient Churches, the Eucharist was but of the Integrity, and not the Essence of a Member of the Church: and the Acknowledgement of it by all the members, a thing that never was existent.*

Johnson.

Numb. 9. Here you commit another Fallacy, proceeding *in sensu conjuncto ad sensum divisum*. I affirm no more, then that the Assembly, or Congregation, which is the Church, hath this acknowledgement; *See p. 30. Baxter Ed. 1122.* and you argue against me, as if I said, Every particular member of the Church is obliged to have that actual express acknowledgment. Know you not, that many things are necessary to the whole Politick Body conjunctively, which are not necessary to every part of it *separata*. Whence your instance of the Eucharist is answered, For though that be not necessa-

ry to be expressly beleev'd by every Christian *necessitate
modi*, yet it is essentially necessary to the whole Church.
You misconceive therefore very much in saying the ques-
tion is not, whether the belief (if you mean explicate
belief) of the Eucharist is essentially necessary to all, and
every one of the members of the Church, for I neither
propounded that the express belief either of the Eucha-
rist, or the Popes Supremacy, is essentially necessary to
every Christian, but to such only, to-whom they are
sufficiently propounded.

Baxter.

Num. 10. *Where you say, Your Major should have been
granted, or denied without these distinctions: I reply,*
1. *If you mean fairly, and not to abuse the truth by confu-
sion, such distinctions as your self call learned and substan-
tial, can do you no wrong; they do but secure our true under-
standing of one another. And a few lines in the beginning,
by way of distinction, are not vain, that may prevent much
vain altercation afterward: When I once understand
you I have done; and I beseech you take it not for an in-
jury to be understood.*

Johnson.

Num. 10. If they have done no wrong to you, 'tis
well: for my part I finde my self nothing injur'd by
them. But unnecessary and frivolous distinctions (as
yours were in this occasion) can be no great advantage to
him who gives them.

Baxter.

Num. 11. *As to your Conclusion, that you used no fal-
lacy ex accidente, and that my instances are not apposite;*
I reply, that the very life of the controversie between us;
and

and our main question is not so to be begged. Fallacy 4
 (a) On the grounds I have shew'd you I still (a) Makensense
 over, That the holding the Papacy as acci- of this.
 dental to the universal Church, as a canker
 in the breast is to a woman. And though you say it is
 essential, and of Christs Institution, that maketh it neither
 essential, nor of Christs Institution, nor doth it make all his
 institutions to be essentials.

Johnson.

Num. 11. You fall here again upon your former mistake;
 I say not, that the Papacy is therefore precisely not Ac-
 cidental, because it is of Christs Institution, but because
 Christ hath instituted it should be ever in the Church;
 which ever you still omit. My saying, I confess, makes it
 not to be of Christs Institution; but I hope to evince, that
 my Argument hath proved it, by a cleer confutation of
 your Answer: Nor would I have any one give credit to
 my sayings, further then I prove them to be true by solid
 reason.

Baxter.

Num. 12. Now of your second Syllogism. 1. I shall ne-
 ver question the successive visibility of the Church; where-
 as I told you out of Francisc. à Sanctâ Clara, that many
 or most of your own Schoolmen agree not to
 that which you say, All Christians agree to, Corruption 1.
 you make no reply to it.

Johnson.

Num. 12. I had not then seen that Author for want of
 time, and so omitted the Answer: And when I came to
 the sight of him, your citation is so vastly large, (for you
 say only in *articulis Anglicanis*) that I was forced to turn
 over the whole Book; and all I have found (where he
 treats

A Sixth clause in Artic. Anglic. problem. 15. p. 109. 110. &c. treats this subject) is, that one may be saved through invincible ignorance, though he have no express, but only an implicate Faith in Christ. But I find no mention of Infidels in that place; much less, that he affirms most of our Doctors teach, they may be saved; nor that he affirms any can be saved who are out of the Church. Your friends will be sorry to see you so defective in your citations. You might have cited either his words, or the place where they are found in particular; and thereby have saved my labour and your own credit. This I hope will be done in your next.

Baxter.

Num. 13. *As to your Minor, I have given you the Reasons of the necessity and harmlessness of my distinctions: we need say no more to that* A Congregation of Christians and a Church are synonyma.

Johnson.

Num. 13. I wonder to hear you say, a Congregation of Christians and a Church are synonyma. Suppose a Montanist, a Luciferian, an Origenist, an Arian, an Eutychian, a Pelagian, an Iconoclast, a Wickliffian, a Waldensian, a Donatist, an Arian, a Hussite, and with these one of each Heresie and Schisme since Christ, (which in your opinion are, or have been, univocally Christians) and that without any to reconcile and agree them, were congregated together to oppose the Roman Church, though you bold they are a Congregation of Christians, would you venture to affirm they are a Church? Or should a company of Murtherers, Thieves, Adulterers, Robbers, Bandits, meet in rebellion together, without Priest, or Pastor, though all Christians, they would

would be a Congregation of Christians, but would you therefore call them a Church? Or when in Christian Armies the Souldiers and Commanders stand in *Battalia* to fight their Enemies; or Countrey-people congregate in a Fair, or to chiope the Knight of the Shire, or at my Lord Mayors Feast in *London*, or at *Bartholomew-Fair* to see a Puppet-play, will you term each of the Congregations of Christians, Churches? Will you term the Common-Council of *London*, or the Sessions of Mayor, Aldermen, and Justices, sitting in the Old-Bailly, or the Kings most Honorable Privy Council, or the High Court of Parliament, a Church? yet all the world knows, they are each of them Congregations of Christians. *S. Paul* tells you (1 Cor. 12.) that the Church is composed of different Heterogenial members, (as our bodies are) one subject orderly to another, by way of Pastor and People; which is not found in every Congregation of Christians, as I have made it manifest.

Baxter.

Num 14. *But the word True was not added to your first term, by you or me: and therefore your instance here is delusory.*

Johnson.

Num. 14. I wonder to hear you discourse in this manner. I contend the word *True* could not be added to the first term without manifest absurdity; and therefore I neither added it, nor was to be understood to include it. Your Syllogisme runs thus, *Whatsoever Congregation of Christians is now the true Church of Christ, &c.* and is not my Major cited thus by you, *Whatsoever Congregation of Christians is now the true Church of Christ.*

Baxt. p. 13.

Baxt. p. 13.

Now

Now you say, the word *True* was not added to your first term, nor to mine; that's true: but you say withal, that I must intend to signifie in that first term by *whatsoever Congregation*, the universal, that is the *true* Church of Christ; that's not true: for I speak abstractly in that term; nor could I do otherwise, unless I would have made an absurd or identical Proposition.

Baxter.

Num. 15. *But to say* Whatsoever Congregation of Christians is now the True Church of Christ, *is all one as to say*, Whatsoever Church of Christians is now the true Church; *when I know your meaning I have my end.*

Johnson.

Num. 15. I have proved this to be manifestly untrue: for the East-India Company in *Holland* is a Congregation of Christians, and yet is not a Church.

Baxter.

Num. 16. *Though my Syllogisme say not, that the Church of Rome* acknowledgeth those things alwayes done, and that by Christs Institution, *it nevertheless explicates the weakness of yours as to the fallacy* Accidentis.

Johnson.

Num. 16. The question is not here, whether this acknowledgement of the Roman Church be true or false; that's stated in the Argument: but whether it be in a matter Accidental, or Essential. Now I affirm, that nothing which Christ hath Instituted to be *ever* in the Church, is Accidental to the Church; for every Accident is separable from the Subject, without destroying the Subject, whose Accident it is. But what Christ has
Instituted

Instituted to be *ever* in his Church, is inseparable from it: for *Qua Deus conjunxit, homo non separet*, Those things which God hath con-
 joyned, man must not separate. In the mean time, you fairly acknowledge your instances were not home to the present purpose, because not in matters Instituted to be perpetual by one of that Authority, whose Institution no man can change; and consequently not necessary to be *ever* in those Nations, or Commonwealths, to whom you ascribe them.

Mat. 19. 6.

Baxter.

Num. 17. For 1. The holding it alwayes done, and that of Christs Institution, may be either an Accident, or but of the Integrity, and ad bene esse; yea possibly an *ERROR*.

Johnson.

Num. 17. If of the Integrity, then not Accidental; for no Integral part is an Accident to the whole: So you yield up your cause, and acknowledge your error; and 'tis laudable in you. The question is not, what you might have done, but what you did: your instances given fell short, and were plainly fallacious. I have already shew'd, that nothing can be an Accident to the Church, which Christ hath instituted to be *ever*, that is *perpetually* in the Church, and consequently the Churches holding any thing to be so, if true, is Essential to the Substance of the Church; if false, is essentially destructive of the Church; so that whether true, or false, it will never be accidental to the Church.

Barrow

Baxter.

Num. 18. *And I might as easily have given you instances of that kind.*

Johnson.

Num. 18. Had you more fully reflected upon your Adversaries words, you might have done many things more pertinently then you have done them; but here again you acknowledge your error, in alledging instances which were not to the purpose. But your Readers and I should have been much more satisfied, had you amended what you acknowledge to be a fault; and brought at least in this your last Reply, those instances, which you say here, you might have given *then*. Be sure therefore in your next to produce instances of Accidentals in such things as Christ hath instituted to be *ever* in his Church; whereby it may appear that this *Roman acknowledgment*, whether true or false, is *accidental* to the true Church: So that the acknowledgment of it, by all those to whom it is sufficiently propounded, is necessary to make them parts of the true Church; and the denial of it, when so propounded, hinders them from being parts of it.

Baxter.

Num. 19. *To your third Syllogism, I reply, 1. When you say your Church had Pastors, as you must speak of what existed (and universals exist not of themselves) so it is necessary that I tell you, how far I grant your Minor, and how far I deny it.*

Johnson.

Num. 19. What though universals exist not of themselves? may not therefore a Logician expresse things which

which have existed in an abstract or universal term? Is not this a true Logical Proposition, *Ever since Adam there have been parents and children in the world*, though the terms abstract from lawful, and unlawful, from male or female children? would you carp at this Proposition (as you do here at mine) because universals exist not of themselves? or go about to distinguish different sorts of children or parents, (as you do Pastors here) to find out the true meaning of that Proposition? No man says, or need to say in such Enunciations, that universals exist, but expresses particulars which have existed, by abstract and universal terms.

Baxter.

Num. 20. *My Argument from the Indians and others is not solved by you.* For 1. *You can never prove, that the Pope was preached to the Iberians by the captive maid; nor to the Indians by Prudentius.* 2. *Thousands were made Christians and Baptized by the Apostles, without any preaching or profession of a Papacie, Acts 2. & passim.* 3. *The Indians now converted in America by the English and Dutch, hear nothing of the Pope, nor thousands in Ethiopia.* 3. *Your own doe, or may baptize many without their owning the Pope, who yet would be Christians: And a Pastor not known, or believed, or owned, is actually no Pastor to them.*

Johnson.

Num. 20. To all these Instances I answer, They conclude nothing against my Assertion; for I never said, that all particular persons, or communities, are obliged to have an express belief or acknowledgment, of the Roman-Bishops Supremacy; that being necessary to all rei-

neither necessarie mediis, nor preceptis. It is sufficient that they beleieve it implicitly, in subjecting themselves to all those whom Christ hath instituted to be their lawful Pastors: and when the Bishop of *Rome* is sufficiently proposed to them to be the supream visible Pastor of those Pastors upon earth, that then they obstinately reject not his authority.

To your first instance of the Captive maid and Saint *Frumentius*, I answer, we can prove as much at least that to have been preacht to them, as you can prove, either Justification by Faith only, or any other particular point of your doctrine, to have been preacht to them. And both of us must say, that all important Christian Truths, both for particular persons and Churches, were delivered to those people; and till you have evinced this of Supremacy to have been none of those, it is to be supposed, it was sufficiently declared to those Nations: At least in explicating the Article of the Catholike Church to them, they must be supposed to have told them, it consisted of Pastors and people united, and that the people were to obey all their lawful Pastors, in which doctrine, the Pope is implicitly included.

To your second from *Acts* 2. The Scripture relates not there all that *S. Peter* said; but affirmeth (*vers.* 40.) that *he gave testimony to them in many other words.* And who can tell whether amongst the rest, that of his Supremacy, might not have been sufficiently intimated to them? However it appears by the Text (*vers.* 37.) that the people address themselves first, and in particular to *S. Peter*, before all the rest of the Apostles; as the prime amongst them, and he who first preacht the Gospel to them. Prove the English and Dutch Convertites converted by Protestants (if you mean those, as you must do, if your argument have any force) to be instructed in the
true

true Faith, and then your Instance will have some force ; prove those of *Ethiopia* to be Orthodox and Catholick Christians. To what purpose produce you instances, which are as soon denied, as they are proposed ? Your last touches only particular persons, which I have shewed, are not obliged to know this expressly, to be of the Church ; the Pope is their true pastor, and so beleev'd to be implicately by them, when they subject themselves to all their lawful pastors, he being one and the chief of them.

Baxter.

Num. 21. *To your Confirmation, I reply ; You mis-read my words : I talk not of invisible. I say it is true, that the universal Church is united to Christ, as their universal Head.*

Johnson.

Num. 21. Nor say I, you have writ there the word *invisible*, but that the pastor or Head which you there name, *Viz.* Christ is an invisible pastor ; nor say I (as you mis-conceive) that Christ is an invisible person (that rought not the controversie) but that he was an *invisible Pastor* ; and that most certainly he is both in heaven and earth ; for though his person may be seen there, yet the exercise of his pastordship, consisting only in spiritual influxions, and internal graces, cannot be seen by any corporal eye whatsoever ; therefore as pastor of the Militant Church he is wholly invisible : whence it is evident, that you put a visible body, the universal Militant Church (for we treat no other here save that) without a visible Head : for Christ as head, that is, as supreme pastor of this Church is invisible ; all that is visible in the pastoral Function, being performed by visible pastors ;

F

and

and all that is invisible by our Saviour. Thus whilst you by a strange piece of Novelty, constitute a visible Body without a visible Head, you destroy the visible Church, and frame a Monster.

Baxter.

Num. 22. *And is visible, 1. In the members. 2. In the profession. 3. Christ himself is visible in the heavens, and as much seen of most of the Church, as the Pope is, that is, not at all. As the Pope is not invisible, though one of a million see him not; no more is Christ, who is seen by most of the Church, and by the best part, even by the glorified. You know my meaning: whether you will call Christ visible or not, I leave to you; I think he is visible: But that which I affirm is, that the universal Church hath no other visible universal Head or Pastor: But particular Churches have their particular Pastors, all under Christ.*

Johnson.

Num. 22. If Christ be no otherwise visible as Head of the Church, then in his members, and their profession of his Faith, you may as well affirm, that God the Father is visible in his creatures, and make him also visible, which were absonous, and contrary to Christian Faith: It seems you regard not much what follows from your doctrine, so you may at present oppose your Adversary. The question in treatie is (seeing we both confess the *members* and *profession* of the Universal Militant Church to be visible) whether Christ in the exercise of his Headship, or chief-Pastorship over the Church, renders himself visible to our corporal eyes, or performs immediately any visible action in relation to his Church. To constitute therefore Christ to be a visible Head of the Church
when

when he performs nothing visible as Head of the Church, or to make a visible Body without a visible Head, is another of your grand Novelties, fit to be repress'd, and stifled in the cradle. And all men will expect that in your Rejoinder to this, you shew that Christ, not in his person, but in the exercise of his pastoral *Headship*, works visibly by himself. One thing is worth observation in this Paragraph, that you affirm, *Christ is seen by most of the Church, and by the best part, even by the glorified*; whereby you must either affirm, that the glorified are now conjoined to their bodies, and thereby evacuate the general resurrection of Saints bodies at the day of judgement, or that the souls of Saints in heaven have corporal eyes for we speak only of corporal sight.

Baxter.

Of Ephes. 4. I easily grant, that the whole Church may be said to have Pastors, in that all the particular Churches have Pastors. But I deny, that the whole have any one Universal Pastor, but Christ. Of that which is the point in controversie you bring no proof. If you mean no more then I grant, That the whole Church hath Pastors, both in that each particular Church hath Pastors, and in that unfixed Pastors are to preach to all, as they have opportunity, then your Minor hath no denial from me. Fallacy 7.

Johnson.

Num. 33. All I intend from *Ephes. 4.* is to prove my Minor, the *perpetual Succession of visible Pastors*, whatsoever those be; you grant here it proves thus much: Why then, presse you me to know whether I would prove from it one supreme visible Pastor on earth, when I alledge it not to prove that. It is strange Logick to ask

an Opponent, whether he intend to prove more by his Syllogism, then what he was obliged to prove in Form, when the Respondent grants he has proved that, and by proving the Proposition which was to be proved, has evinced the *Thesis* to be true, which he first undertook to prove by his Argument, *Viz.* the Popes Supremacy.

CHAP. II.

THE ARGUMENT:

No Negative fram'd in Positive, Historical matters to be proved, num. 24. but the Instances alledged against it, to be disproved by the Opponent, num. 25. The Pope obeyed in England, not only as Patriarch of the West, but as Supream visible Pastor of the whole Militant Church, was in quiet possession of the

See Stow and Spred, with the Statutes of Parliaments, and decrees of our English Councils, in and before the beginning of King Henry the eighths Reign of this matter.

Spiritual government of the English Church when Protestancy first appeared in it. Mr. Baxter forced n. 27. to deny two common principles, n. 28. His unfair dealing with his adversary. n. 33, 34. Visible Pastors, though Christs Officers Essential to his visible Church; and if they, why not the Supream amongst them? n. 35, 36.

Some under Officers are Essential to Monarchies. p. 38. No new work to be attempted till the old be

be finish'd. n. 39, 40, 41, 42, &c. Mr. Baxter puts many questions and doubts where there is no need, and n. 46. mistakes grossly his Adversaries words and meaning.

Baxter.

Num. 24. *In stead of prosecuting your Argument, when you had cast the work of an Opponent upon me, you here appeal to any true Logician, or expert Lawyer. Content, I admit your Appeal. But why then did you at all put on the face of an Opponent? Could you not without this lost labour, at first have called me to prove the successive visibility of our Church? But to your Appeal. Ho all you true Logicians, this Learned man and I refer it to your Tribunal, whether it be the part of an Opponent to contrive his Argument so, as that the Negative shall be his, and then change places, and become Respondent, and make his Adversary Opponent at his pleasure We leave this Cause at your Bar, and expect your Sentence. But before we come to the Lawyers Bar, I must have leave more plainly to state our Case.*

Johnson.

Num. 24. I am still content to refer my case, as I state it in your Edition, p. 35. But why do you refer what I admit not? I say not, that every Opponent may come to a Negative *at his* pleasure, (as you make me say) but when that Negative is deduced by force of Syllogistical form, and denied by the Respondent in a matter proveable by instances, as this is, I affirm, and desire it should be sent to both our Learned Universities, that he, who denies the universal Negative, is

F 3

obliged,

obliged, in Logical process, to give some instance to the contrary: and that there is no other means to prove that Negative, but by infringing the instances, which the Respondent produces against it. For if the Opponent go to prove his universal negative by Induction, *viz.* in my present Minor, *But no Congregation of Christians hath been alwayes visible, save those which acknowledge St. Peter, &c.* he must come at last to this, Such a Congregation is neither that of the Arrians, nor of the Eutychians, nor of Nestorians, nor any other Congregation that can be named. Then, if the Respondent deny that Proposition, and affirm there is some nameable, he is obliged to tell which it is, otherwise it is impossible to make progress in the Argument: which way of arguing notwithstanding is most Logical, and usually practised amongst Learned Disputants.

Baxter.

Num. 25. *We are all agreed, that Christianity is the true Religion, and Christ the Churches universal Head, and the Holy Scriptures the Word of God. Papists tell us of another Head and Rule; the Pope and Tradition, and Judgement of the Church. Protestants deny these Additionals, and hold to Christianity and Scripture only: our Religion being nothing but Christianity, we have no controversy about: their Papal Religion, superadded, is that which is controverted. They affirm 1. the Right, 2. the Antiquity of it: we deny both. The Right we disprove from Scripture, though it belongs to them to prove it. The Antiquity is it, that is now to be reserved. Protestantcy being the denial of Popery, it is we that really have the Negative, and the Papists, that have the Affirmative. The Essence of our Church*
(which

(which is Christian) is confessed to have been successively visible: But we deny that theirs, as Papal, hath been so: and now they tell us, that it is Essential to ours; to deny the Succession of theirs; and therefore require us to prove a Succession of ours, as one that still hath denied theirs. Now we leave our Case to the Lawyers, seeing to them you make your Appeal, 1. Whether the Substance of all our Cause lie not in this question, Whether the Papacy, or universal Government by the Pope, be of Heaven or of Men? and so, Whether it hath been from the beginning? which we deny, and therefore are called Protestants; and they affirm, and are therefore called Papists. 2. If they cannot first prove a Successive visibility of their Papacy and Papal Church, then what Law can bind us to prove that it was denied before it did arise in the world, or ever any pleaded for it? 3. And as to the point of Possession, I know not what can be pretended on your side 1. The possession of this, or that particular Parish Church, or Tythes, is not the thing in question; but the universal Headship is the thing. But if it were, yet it is I that am yet here in Possession; and Protestants before me for many Ages Successively. And when possessed you the Headship of the Ethiopian, Indian, and other Extra-Imperial Churches? never to this day. No, nor of the Eastern Churches, though you had Communion with them. 2. If the question be, who hath possession of the universal Church, we pretend not to it; but only to a part, and the soundest, safest part 3. The Case of Possession therefore is, whether we have not been longer in Possession of our Religion, which is bare Christianity, than you of your super-added Popery. Our Possession is not denied of Christianity: yours of Popery we deny: (and our denial makes us called Protestants) Let therefore the

the reason of Logicians, Lawyers, or any rational sober man determine the case, whether it do not first and principally belong to you, to prove the visible Succession of a Vice-Christ over the universal Church.

Johnson.

Num. 25. Fair and softly, Sir, you are run quite out of the field, and have lost your self I know not where. The present question is not, who is to prove the universal and perpetual Supremacy of the *Roman-Bishop*? See you not, that I have already undertaken the proof of that in this present Argument? The question at present is nothing but this, when I have brought the Argument to this Head; that no other Congregation of Christians can be named perpetually visible, save that which acknowledges the Roman Supremacy, and you deny that negative Proposition of mine, whether you be not obliged upon that denial, to name some Congregation, which has been perpetually visible beside it. This, and this onely, is that which I referr'd, and still refer to the the judgement of the Learned: as to your Case, when it comes in season; it shall be resolved. This onely *ex abundanti* for the present: whatsoever may be, or not be, of the Indians and Ethiopians, &c. (which shall hereafter be examined.) You, who confess
 Part 2. the Pope to have been constituted, at least by the Churches grant, Patriarch of the West, and thereby to have acquired a lawfull Supremacy over the Western Churches, (and consequently over that of *England*) and was in *full and quiet possession* of that Right, when your first Protestants began to reject it; you, I say, cannot deny, those first Protestants at least to have been obliged, by reason of that possession, to bring convincing

cing proofs that it was unlawfull : which notwithstanding you must hold impossible to be done , because you hold that Patriarchal power over them to have been lawfull. Now what obligation falls upon you, as maintaining successively so wrongfull a cause, I leave to your consciences to determine. Nay, it is most evident, in time of the first breach with the Roman Bishop, he was in as quiet possession of Supremacy over the English Church, in quality of Supreme visible Pastor over the whole Church, as he was in quality of the Western Patriarch ; for the English obeyed him as Supreme over all, and not as Patriarch of the West onely, as appears by thousands of testimonies extant in our National Councils, ^{the} Doctors, Bishops, Historians, Records, Decrees, &c. Therefore those, who dispossessed him of that possession, were bound either to have demonstrated it undeniably to be unlawfull, or to have procured a definitive Sentence against him by such as had full Authority to judge him, that his possession was unjust : neither of which either hath been done, nor can ever be done.

Baxter.

Num. 26. *As to your contradictory impositions, I reply, 1. Your exception was not exprest, and your imposition was peremptory.*

Johnson.

Num. 26. But I supposed my Adversaries to be Logicians, and stood not in need to be instructed in usual Logical processes, belonging to Syllogistical Form. Do what I can, you will mistake me. I speak of a Church *denying* that the Pope hath always had it, that is, of a Church which

which now, or of late times *denies it*; and you make me speak of a Church, which *hath alwayes denied it*, contrary to my exprefs words immediately following. as you presently acknowledge. All I pretend is this; Prove that any Church, which now denies it, hath been *alwayes visible*, and I am satisfied, whether that Church *alwayes denied it*, or no.

Baxter.

Num. 27. *I told you, I would be a Papist, if you prove, That the whole visible Church in all Ages held the Popes universal Head-ship. You say that you have proved it by this Argument, that either he hath that Supremacy, or some other Church, denying that he hath alwayes had it, hath been alwayes visible: and that Church you require should be named. I reply, 1. Had not you despaired of making good your Cause, you should have gone on by Argumentation, till you had forced me to contradict some common Principle. 2. If you should shew these Papers to the world, and tell them, that you have no better proof of the Succession of your Papacy, then that we prove not, that it hath alwayes been denied by the visible Church, you would sure turn thousands from Popery, if there be so many rational considering impartial men, that would peruse them, and believe you. For any man may know, that it could not be expelled, that the Churches should deny a Vice-Christ, before he was sprung up. why did not all the precedent Roman Bishops disclaim the title of universal Bishop, or Patriarch, till Pelagius and Gregory? but because there was none in the world that gave occasion for it. How should any Heresie be opposed, or condemned, before it doth arise?*

John-

Johnson.

Num. 27. I have manifestly forced you to contradict a common Principle; and not one, but Two of them, First, you are forced to contradict that Principle in Logic, That he, who denies an universal Negative Proposition, framed in a positive Historical matter, as mine is, is not obliged to give an instance, when it is demanded, to infringe the universality of it: and this I have, and do refer. The second is a Theological, or rather Christian Principle, That no professed Heretick, nor Schismatick properly so called, is a true part of the universal visible Church of Christ. That this is such a Principle, shall appear hereafter; where I shall make it evident, that a professed Heretick, properly so called, had, or could have, true Christian Faith, or the profession of it, without which no man can be a true member of the Catholick Church, that is, united to Christ as his Head, as you explicate your meaning. Your other difficulties, about the Title of Universal Bishop, &c. shall be answered in their place.

Baxter.

Num. 28. But you fairly yield not somewhat here, and say, that you oblige me not to prove a continued visible Church, formally and expressly denying it; but that it was of such a Constitution as was inconsistent with any such Supremacy, or could and did subsist without it. Reply. *I confess, your first part is very ingenious and fair. Remember is hereafter, that you have discharged me from proving a Church that denied the Papacy formally and expressly.*

John

Johnson.

Num. 28. But have you dealt as fairly with me ; when after I had so clearly explicated my self, in my former Answer, not to exact a perpetual visible Church, formally and expressly denying that Supremacy, you make me frame an Argument, in the precedent Paragraph, exacting the formal and express denial of it in all Ages : is this fair ? You corrupt again my Proposition, I say not that I freed you from proving a Church that denied the Papacy formally and expressly, but (as you acknowledge in this Paragraph) that *I obliged you not to prove a continued visible Church formally and expressly denying it*, that is, such a Church, as denied it so, all the time that it was visible ; yet I quitted you not of the obligation, of instancing in a Church which at some time or other denied it formally and expressly, as your inference seems to affirm I do. For seeing it has for many hundred years been publickly acknowledged, as due to the Bishop of Rome, it was deniable by those who lived in the said Ages.

Baxter.

Num. 29. But as to what you yet demand, 1. *I have here given it you, because you shall not say I let fall you : I have answered your desire.* But, 2. *It is not as a thing necessary, but ex abundanti, as an overplus.* For you may now see plainly, that to prove that the Church was without an universal Pastor (which you require) is to prove the Negative, viz. that then there was none such ; whereas it's you that must prove, that there was such. *I prove our Religion ; do you prove yours: though I say*

to please you, He disprove it, and have done it in two Books already.

Johnson.

Num. 29. I had no farther Obligation in the Process of this Argument, then to inforce you to produce an instance of some Church perpetually visible, which either denied, or was inconsistent with, and Independent of that Supremacy. And this I say, you were obliged to do according to Logical Form; say as much as you please, that it was *ex abundanti*, no good Logician will believe you. I mention not the Churches being *without* a Supream visible Pastor, which you term *universal*, nor oblige I you precisely to prove that, but to prove a perpetual visible Church whose government was inconsistent with one supream visible Pastor over all, which is an Affirmative Proposition. Why mistake you perpetually? prove this, and I am satisfied: Nor yet have you in what you have done performed what you undertake, as shall appear in my following Rejoynder to your Arguments.

Baxter.

Num. 29. My reason from the stress of necessity, which you lay on your Affirmative and Additions, was but subservient to the foregoing Reasons, not first to prove you bound, but to prove you the more bound to the proof of your Affirmative. And therefore your instance of Mahumetans is impertinent. He that saith, you shall be damned if you believe not this or that, is more obliged to prove it, then he that affirmeth a point as of no such moment.

Num. 30.

Johnson.

Num. 30. Sure if you prove me *more bound*, you prove me *bound*, *a fortiori*; For every comparative supposes its positive. The instance I bring is pertinent; and all who read it attentively, will see it is so. Your last sentence is a repetition of what I denied, without answering my answering my Argument against it. *Then*, say I, *a Christian is bound to prove his Religion to a Mahometan*, but *a Mahometan is not bound to prove his to a Christian*; or if you will have it so, is more bound of the two; this you answer not, because the same reason holding in both, you saw you could not answer it.

Baxter.

Num. 31. *To what I say of an Accident, and a corrupt part, you say you have answered, and do but say so, having said nothing to it that is considerable.*

Johnson.

Num. 31. Let the Reader judge *that*, by what hath been said on both parts.

Baxter.

Num. 32. *Me thinks you that make Christ to be corporally present in every Church in the Eucharist, should not say, That the King of the Church is absent.*

Johnson.

Num. 32. Why dally you thus, to amuse your Reader? you know we dispute now of a proper visible presence, Such as is not that in the Eucharist,

Baxter

Baxter.

Num. 33. *But when you have proved, 1. That Christ is so absent from his Church, that there's need of a Deputy to Essentiate his Kingdom; and 2. That the Pope is so deputed, you will have done more, then is yet done for your cause.*

Johnson.

Num. 33. I have proved that Christ instituted S. Peter and his Successors to govern visibly his whole Universal Church on earth in all ages, and that nothing so instituted is *accidental* to his Church; and you have not yet given any instance to infringe it; so that my proof stands in full force against you, till it be answered. I presse you therefore once more to give an instance of something which has been ever in the visible Church by Christs Institution, and yet is *accidental* to his Church.

Baxter.

Num. 34. *And yet let me tell you, that in the absence of a King, it is only the King and Subjects, that are Essential to the Kingdom: the Deputy is but an Officer, and not essential.*

Johnson.

Num. 34. 'Tis so indeed *de facto*, but suppose (as I do) that a Vice-King be by full Authority made an Ingredient into the 'Essence of the Kingdom; then sure he must be essential; this is evident in our present subject: For though all the Pastors in Christs Church be only his Officers and Deputies, yet you cannot deny, such Officers are now Essential to his visible Church. I wonder you
look

look no deeper then to the *Superficies*; nor consider what inconveniences follow against your self by your replies, for what true Christian ever yet denied, that either Bishops, or Presbyters, or both, though they are all Christs Officers and Deputies are essential to Christs visible Church?

Baxter.

Fallacy 6. Num. 35. *Your naked Assertion, That*
 The word *ver* whatsoever Government Christ institu-
 left out the teth of his Church, must be essential to
 this time. his Church, *is no proof; nor like the task*
of an Opponent.

Johnson.

Num. 35. My Assertion is of force, till you produce some instance of perpetual Church Government instituted by our Saviour, which is not Essential to his Church: which you neither have done, nor can you do it. And certainly, when any Common-wealth is instituted in such a determinate kind of perpetual Government, by one of so eminent Authority, that no other hath power to change that Institution (as it passes in our case) the government, which he instituted is not *accidental* to that Common-wealth; so far, that it will be no longer the Common-wealth instituted by him when the Government is changed.

Baxter.

Num. 36. *The Government of Inferiour Officers is not Essential to the Universal Church, no more then Judges and Justices to a Kingdom.*

Johnson.

Num. 36. Your Assertion is not true; for Judges and

and *Justices* may be changed into other Officers, by the Supreme authority: whereas none have power to change the Officers which Christ hath instituted to be perpetual in his Church. Again even in Common-wealths and Kingdoms, though these determinate Officers are not essential to them, yet it is essential to have some inferior Officers; seeing it is impossible, that the Supreme Magistrate should govern the whole Common-wealth immediately by himself.

Baxter.

Num. 37. *And yet we must wait long, before you will prove, that Peter and the Pope of Rome are in Christ's place, as Governours of the Universal Church.*

Johnson.

Num. 37. I have proved it; and my proof is good; till it be convinced, that you have answered my Argument: Governours they are, but under Christ, and no farther then to a visible government of the universal Militant Church.

Baxter.

Num. 38. *Sir, I desire open dealing, as between men that believe these matters are of eternal consequence. I watch not for any advantage against you. Though it be your part to prove the Affirmative, yet I have begun the proof of our Negative, but it was on supposition, that you will equally now prove your Affirmative, better then you have here done. I proved a visible Church successively, that held not the Popes Universal Government? Do you now prove, That the Universal Church in all ages did hold the Popes Universal Government, which is your part; or I must say again, I shall think you do but run away, and*
 give

give up your cause, as unable to defend it: I have not failed you, do not you fail me.

Johnson.

Num. 38. Sir, All that I contend is, that my Argument sent to you, and the Answer to it promised and assayed by you, be respectively accomplished by us both: when that is done, I shall refuse no reasonable Propositions, and shall endeavour to give you all possible satisfaction. But give me leave to tell you, till that be done, I shall take it for an *Effugium* from you, and (and so I think will all rational men) to set upon a new work before the old be finisht: For by this means we shall bring nothing to an Issue, but still flit superficially from one difficulty to another, without bringing any thing to a period; and thereby both lose our time and credit. Let us first follow this close, and when we are come to an end, we shall be ready to begin another. It is not for the present the proof of the perpetual visibility of your Protestant Church in particular, which is aimed at for answer to my Argument: Be it that, or any other Independent of the Bishop of *Rome's* authority, 'tis all one for solution of the Argument: The force of my discourse consists in this, *No Congregation of Christians has been perpetually visible, save that which acknowledges the Popes Supremacy*; Ergo, *No Congregation of Christians is Christs true Church, save that*. Now this Argument presses all Congregations of Christians, whether Ancient or Modern, not acknowledging that Supremacy, as much as Protestants; and if any of them can be proved to be perpetually visible, the Argument is solv'd: So that the Argument is not directed particularly against Protestants, but as well against Grecian Schismatics, Eutychians, Nestorians, Montanists, &c. as against them; and

and had it fallen into their hands, as it did into yours, the proving their visibility (though yours had not been proved) would have given satisfaction: nay if you had shewed the perpetual visibility of any others, as you have assayed to do of yours, you had given an equal satisfaction to the Argument. But seeing you have pitcht upon the visibility of your Protestant Church you have imposed an obligation upon me of answering the reasons and allegations, whereby you labour to prove it to have been perpetually visible.

Baxter.

Num. 39. *You complain of a deficiency in quality, though you confess that I abound in number. But where is the defect! You say I must assert both, that these were one Congregation, and ever visible since Christs time. Reply. If by one Congregation you meant one Assembly met for personal Communion, which is the first sense of the word Congregation, it were ridiculous to feign the universal Church to be such.*

Johnson.

Num. 39. You know, I mean not that; why lose you time in putting an *if* upon it.

Baxter.

Num. 40. *If you mean one as united in one visible humane Head, shew it that we deny; and therefore may not be required to prove.*

Johnson.

Num. 40. I abstract from that also, be it but truly and properly one, whence soever that unity is drawn, tis all alike to the Solution of my Argument.

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Baxter.

Baxter.

Num. 41. *But that these Churches are one, as united in Christ the Head, we easily prove: in that from him the whole Family is named, the Body is Christs Body, 1 Cor. 12. 12, 13. and one in him, Ephes. 4. 4, 5, 6. &c.*

Johnson.

Num. 41. *These Churches*; which these? mean you all that you seem to point at in your Catalogue? All sure, or you prove nothing; but which are those *all*? You name only those of the present age, *Greeks, Armenians, Ethiopians, Protestants*: After these, for eleven hundred years, you name none at all: How shall we then know determinately, what you mean here by *these Churches*, when you give no light to know your meaning. Let us therefore first know, which are *these Churches* you here relate to by some particular designation, and denomination of them; or how can you either prove, or we know, whether they were *united in Christ*, or no? and then, and not till then, can it be discerned whether *these Churches* be, or be not, parts of Christs family, or body, according to the places you here cite.

Baxter.

Num. 42. *All that are true Christians are one Kingdom, or Church of Christ; but these of whom I speak are true Christians; therefore they are one Kingdom, or Church of Christ.*

Johnson.

Num. 42. I grant your *Major*, and deny your *Minor*, if they were independent of the Roman Bishop.

Baxter.

Baxter.

Num. 43. *And that they have been visible since Christ's time till now, all History, even your own affirms: as in Judea, and from the Apostles times in Ethiopia, Egypt, and other parts: Rome was no Church in the time of Christ's being on earth.*

Johnson.

Num. 43. Let them have been as visible as you please; that's nothing to me, so were the *Arrians, Sabellians, Montanists, &c.* as much as many of these: prove they were no more then one visible Congregation of Christians amongst themselves, and with Orthodox Christians; that's the present controversy.

Baxter.

Num. 44. *And to what purpose talk you of determinate Congregations? Do you mean individual Assemblies? those cease, when the persons die: Or do you mean Assemblies meeting in the same place? So they have not done still at Rome.*

Johnson.

Num. 44. Why do you still ask me if I mean, what you know I mean not?

Baxter.

Num. 45. *I told you, and tell you still, that we hold not that God hath secured the perpetual visibility of his Church in any one City or Country; but if it cease in one place, it is still in others. It may cease at Ephesus, at Phillippi, Colosse, &c. in Teneduc, Nubia, &c. and yet remain in other parts. I never said that the Church must needs be visible still in one Town or Country.*

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Johnson.

Johnson.

Num. 45. I assent to you in this: why lose you labour in asserting that which no man questions.

Baxter.

Num. 46. And yet it hath been so de facto, as in Asia, Ethiopia, &c. But you say, I nominate none. Are you serious? must I nominate Christians of these Nations, to prove that there were such? You require nothing of the Church-Historians. Is sufficiently, that they tell you, that Ethiopia, Egypt, Armenia, &c. had Christians, without naming them. When all History tells you, that these Countreys were Christians, or had Churches, I must tell you what and who they were? Must you have their Names, Surnames, and Genealogies? I cannot name you one of a thousand in this small Nation, in the Age I live in: how then should I name you the people of Armenia, Abassia, &c. so long ago? You can name but few of the Roman Church in each Age: and had they wanted Learning and Records, as much as Abassians and Indians, and others, you might have been as much to seek for names, as they.

Johnson.

Num. 46. You trifle away time exceedingly; I require (as you have seen above) the nomination of the determinate Opinions, or Societies, as Hussites, Waldenses, Nestorians, Eutychians, &c. not of their persons. And therefore I say you nominate

See B. 1. p. 41. none, much less prosecute you those with whom you begun. Now these were Greeks, Armenians, Ethiopians, Protestants; so that I speak undeniably of the nomination of Sects, and Societies, not of Names,

Surnames,

Surnames, and Genealogies of persons. There were different Sects and Professions in different Countreys, as *Armenia, Abassia, &c.* I require the nomination of which of those Sects, or parties, you mean in those times and Nations, not what were their names and surnames. Nor is it sufficient, that you say there were Christians, that is, Christians univocally so called, or true Christians, in all Ages in *Armenia, Ethiopia, Egypt, &c.* who denied the Popes Supremacy; for unless you nominate of what party, sect, opinion, or profession they were, how shall any man judge, whether they held not some Opinion contrary to the Essentials of Christianity, and by that became no Christians, even in your opinion? You must therefore, either have nominated, and designed what sort of professions you mean, or acknowledge you have spoken in the air, and produc'd a pure non-proof, in the nomination of those Countreys, since no man can know by that, what sort of profession you mean, amongst all those different professions which have inhabited the said Nations; for Arrians, Sabellians, Manichees, Menandrians, &c. whom you hold to be no Christians, and to erre in Essentials, denied the Popes Supremacy in those Nations.

CHAP. III.

ARGUMENT.

Num. 47. *No Congregations of Christians can be united in Christ, which are not united in the profession of one and the same Faith; and in the Unity of external Communion.* n. 50, 51, &c.

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Assertors of the Popes Supremacy within the first 400. years after Christ. Extra-Imperial Nations subject to the Roman Bishop. n.51. India and outer-Armenians, not alwayes Extra-Imperial. n.51. An Universal prov'd from a Particular by Mr. Baxter. His word a proof. n.55. A bold Assertion of his, contrary both to Ancient and Modern Writers. n.54. The Ethiopians subject to the Three First General Councils. An obscure Authority, obscurely cited from Bishop Usher. n.5 : 58. He draws an Argument for no-subjection due to the Pope, from the disobedient Acts of Schismatics and Hereticks against him. n.60. The 28. Canon of Chalcedon, though admitted, proves not Mr. Baxter's Assertion. ibidem. What is meant by the Merits of S. Peter, when they are alledged by Ancient Fathers, as the prime Ground of the Popes Supremacy.

Baxter.

Num. 47. *You ask, were they different Congregations? Answ. As united in Christ, they were one Church; but as assembling at one time, or in one place, or under the same guide, so they were not one, but divers Congregations.*

Johnson.

Now. 47. *You answer not the question; for they might be in different places and times, and under several guides, and yet be one and the same Congregation; as appears in the succession and extension of the Catholick*

lick Church. The question I demanded is this; were they all united in the profession of one and the same Faith, and unity of External Communion? without these two it is impossible to be united in Christ, as I shall prove hereafter.

Baxter.

Num. 48. *That there were any Papists of 400. years after Christ, do yo prove, if you are able. My Conclusion, that all have been against you for many hundred years, must stand good, till you prove, that some were for you. Yet I have herewith proved, that there were none, at least that could deserve the name of the Church.*

Johnson.

Num. 48. I have proved there were some, in citing the Orat on of the Legates from Pope *Celestine*, in the first *Ephesine* Council, who, you grant, were for us: and if they were for us, then *all* were not *against* us, for so many hundred years; for you speak there of See Baxt. p. 23. the first 400. years. Now though that Council was celebrated in the year 430. yet both that, in a moral consideration, passes for 400. and those Legates witnessing what they said, to have alwayes been known to every one (*notum omnibus, &c.*) give an Authentical Testimony, that it was alwayes acknowledged as a Christian Truth, in and through the Church; and consequently within the first 400. years. No, nor was the Council of *Ephesus*, nor any part of it, then against us. For if they had, they would have, at least some of them, contradicted that, which they had (in your supposition) esteemed so manifest an untruth, and contrary to the liberty and jurisdiction of all other Bishops and Churches; as imposing upon them a Superiour, and Judge, who had no lawfull Authority over them.

Bax-

Baxter.

Num. 49. Do you think to satisfy any reasonable man, by calling for positive proof from Authors, of such Negatives?

Johnson.

Num. 49. I demand no proof of a Negative: prove, I demand it. My demand is to shew any one Congregation of Christians always visible, since Christ till now, beside that, which acknowledged the Popes Supremacy: which is an Affirmative.

Baxter.

Num. 50. Yet proof you shall not want, such as the nature of the point requireth, viz. That the said Churches of Ethiopia, India, the outer Armenia, and other Extra-Imperial Nations, were not under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome.

Johnson.

Num. 50. I suppose you mean by were not under, &c. were never under the Bishop of Rome: otherwise your instance proves nothing; for if they were under him in any age, and for any time since Christ, you can never make them to be an instance, of those who were perpetually in all Ages a visible Congregation of Christians, not acknowledging the Popes Supremacy; for in that Age wherein they were subject to him, they did acknowledge it.

Baxter.

Num. 51. You find all these Churches, or most of them at this day (that remain) from under your Jurisdiction: and you cannot tell, when or how they turned from you. If you could, it had been done.

John-

Johnson.

Num. 51. I neither find it, nor can find it, till you tell me, which were these Extra-Imperial Churches you mean, when you say *other Extra-Imperial Nations*. Mean you *all other*, or *some other*? If *all*, I find the quite contrary. For the Goths, successively inhabitants of *Spain*, never acknowledged themselves Subjects to the Empire; who notwithstanding are now subject to the Roman Bishop; and consequently were and are, for some time, under him. And the Suedes and Danes, which pretend to proceed from the Goths; Vandals, &c. though now they reject all obedience to him, yet in the year 1500. they all acknowledged themselves to be his Subjects in Spirituals, and that for many hundred of years together. Well then; I find not all Extra-Imperial Churches from under the Popes Jurisdiction; and some who are, I can and do find, when and how they turned from him. It was about the year 1520. by occasion of the *Lutheran Heresie*, as all the world knows. If you mean onely some of those other Extra-Imperial Churches, when you have told me, which are *those some*, you shall have an Answer. In the *interim* give me leave to tell you, that to maintain your Novelty, you must shew all Extra-Imperial to have been exempt: for if any one were not, all might have been subject, nay were to have been so, *a paritate rationis*.

As to the Indians, they were not alwayes Extra-Imperial. For in the year 1673. they subjected themselves to the Roman Emperour *Antonius Pius*. The Armenians, that were Christians, were not alwayes Extra-Imperial. For in the year 571. being grievously persecuted for the Christian Faith by the Persians

*Euseb. in Chron.
sic. Anno 21.*

Anton.

Euseb. lib. 8.

Evagr. Id. c. 7.

Persians

Persians, they rendered themselves Subjects to the Roman Emperour. Nor were they always a separate Congregation from those, who acknowledged the Spiritual Sovereignty of the Roman Bishop. For, in the year 1145. they and the Indian Christians subjected themselves to him: and again *Anno* 1439. and so remain for the present. Nor were the Ethiopians, in all ages, a different Congregation from the Romans. For *Anno* 1524. the Emperour and High Priest, *David*, promised obedience to the Sea Apostolick. And *Claudius*, his Successor, did the like, *Anno* 1557. Now let us review the force of your instances. You undertook to shew,

Opp. Flor. in litteris univ. & de Armeniorum concordia. Vide Plat. Naucler. Vols. terranum, Chalcond. Emilius, Onuphrius, Gauthard. de Concilio Flor. See Joins, Gen. Masius Jarris. in anno 1524.

in Answer to my *Minor*, some visible Congregation, beside that which acknowledges the Popes Supreme power, in all Ages since Christ. To prove this, you nominate onely the Indians, Ethiopians, Armenians. Now no one of these Three have been in all Ages, a visible Congregation *beside that of Rome*: for each of them, at one time or other, became the same Congregation to that, by subjecting and conforming themselves to and with the Bishop of *Rome*, as I have proved. You assert, that these Three are, and ever were, Extra-Imperial Nations; and upon that score (in your principles) independent of the Roman Bishop: and yet Two of these made themselves subjects to the Roman Emperour, as I have now proved. You undertook to prove, that those three forenamed Nations, and other Extra-Imperial Churches were never under the Bishop of *Rome*: and in proof thereof you say in your first reason, that *all*, or *most of them*, (that is, not all) at this day are from under his Jurisdiction: so that your Argument runs thus.

None

None of them were ever under him, because all or most of them were never under him. Take you this to be Logick? You tell me, *we* cannot tell, when or how they turned from us; and I tell you, and have prov'd it, that the Goths in *Spain* are not from under us at this day: and that the *Suedes* and *Danes*, being their off-spring, departed not from us, till about the year 1520. by occasion of *Luther's* Heresie. This is your first proof: and no marvel you put it, as your *Achilles*, in the froth, it is so mighty strong. Now let us hear your second.

Baxter.

Num. 52. 2. *These Nations profess it to be their Tradition, that the Pope was never their Governour.*

Johnson.

Num. 52. You are pleas'd to say so; and I am ready to believe you, when you prove what you say. This is your second proof.

Baxter.

Num. 53. 2. *No History, or Authority, of the least regard, is brought by your own Writers, to prove these Churches under your Jurisdiction: no not by Baronius himself, that is so copious and so skilfull in making much of nothing.*

Johnson.

Num. 53. Those Histories, and Authors, which say All Churches, and the whole Church of Christ, was and ought to be subject to him, prove sufficiently, that these Churches were subject to him: for these were contained in the number of *All*. But many Ancient Authors, and Fathers say, That All Churches, and the whole Church was, and ought to be subject to him: *Ergo*, they say, that these Churches were subject to him. The

S. Prosper, S. Leo, &c. infra citandi.

Major

Major is evident: The *Minor* shall be amply proved, and is sufficiently already in my subsequent Allegations; as I shall make good, when I come to the defence of them against your Answers and Exceptions.

Baxter.

Num 54. No credible witnesses mention your Acts of Jurisdiction over them, or their Acts of subjection; which Church History must needs have contained, if it had been true, that they were your Subjects,

Johnson.

Num. 54. What none? that were very strange. Is not *Genebrard* a witness, that Pope *Eugenius* wrote to the Emperour of *Ethiopia*, anno 1437. to send Legates to the Council of *Ferrara*, as the Greek Emperour had decreed to do: to whose Letters and Legates *David*, their Emperour, returned a respectfull Answer, and accordingly sent some of his Church to that Council, as appears by the Acts of the Council it self, where the *Ethiopians* are recorded to have been present: and that in the year 1524. the said *David*, and *Helena* his Empress, promised Obedience to the Bishop of *Rome*, Pope *Clement* the 7th. And witnesses not, both *Platina*, *Nauclerus*, *Volaterranus*, *Chalcondylas*, *Emylius*, *Onuphrius*, *Genebrard*, and also the Acts of the *Florentine* Council, that the Armenians and Indians acknowledged the Spiritual Sovereignty of the Roman Bishop through the whole world? Are these no credible witnesses? And as to more Ancient times, gives not the Arabick Translation of the first *Nicene* Council a clear witness (as we shall see presently) that the Ethiopians were to be under the Jurisdiction of the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and he under that of *Rome*, as is witnessed and decreed in the

the *Ephesus* Council, and others? Are these no credible witnesses neither? Witnesses not the whole Kingdome of *Spain* at this day, and all the Historians of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and other Northern Countreys, issuing from the Extra-Imperial Goths, and never subject to the Roman Empire, that from their first Conversions, till after the year 1500. they were all subject to the Roman Bishop? and are none of these, credible witnesses? That's hard. But more of this hereafter.

Baxter.

Num. 55. *Their absence from General Councils, and no invitation of them thereunto, (that was ever proved, or is shewed by you) is sufficient evidence.* Non proof.

Johnson.

Num. 55 I intend to make a particular Tract to prove this, and to evidence the falsity of your Allegation, from the undeniable testimonies, of Classie Authors, and from the ancient subscriptions of the Councils themselves.

Baxter.

Num. 56. *Their Liturgies, even the most Ancient, bear no footsteps of any subjection to you: though your forgeries have corrupted them, as I shall here (differently) give one instance of. The Ethiopick Liturgie, because of a Hoc est corpus meum, which we also use, is urged to prove, that they are for the Corporal Presence, or Transubstantiation. But, saith Usher, de Success. Eccles. In Ethiopiarum Ecclesiarum universali Canone descriptum habebatur Hic panis est corpus meum. In Latinâ Translatione, contra fidem Ethiopic. Exemplarium (ut in primâ operis editione confirmat Pontificius ipse Scholiastes) expunctum est nomen panis.*

John-

Johnson.

Num. 56. No more does the Roman Missal it self, nor those of *France* or *Spain*, witness their subjection to the Roman Bishop: Must every Book witness every thing? Must those Books which contain nothing but the service of the Church, determine points of Controversie, no way pertaining to that subject? What rule have you for that? Yet I finde in their very Liturgie, both a plain acknowledgment of St. *Peters* primacy, and of the reverence they bear to the three first general Councils; in making a particular Commemoration of the Fathers which were in them, in the Canon of their Mass: whereby they profess to receive the Decrees of those three Councils, and thereby their subjection to them; and name not the Fathers of the Council of *Chalcedon*, (the fourth general) because they follow the Herefie of *Eutiches* who was condemned in it.

Your digression, I confesse, is something large, from the Popes Supremacy to Transubstantiation: Yet had you grounded it upon a more firm Authority, then that of a professed Adversary, it would I suppose have had more weight with your Readers. What if *Mher* say so? that moves not me a jot: though I marvel not a little also, why you who stand upon such Niceties in citations, should fall into the same defect which you blame in me, of putting me to the labour of reading over that whole Book, by not citing the place where those words are found. But I should have taken no notice of such small omissions, had not you given me a President for it. At last I found them, cap. 2. p. 54. *Edit. 2.* but then I was at a loss again. For having examined three different Editions of the *Bibliotheca*, (which is all are extant) and the *Scholia's* in the Margin,
I could

I could finde no such matter; nor could I know, what other *Scholiaster*, or Edition he meant; and should be more satisfied, if in your next you please to cite the Edition more exactly, and the precise words of the *Scholiaster*, and where they are to be found. For the matter it self it seems, I must needs tell you, very improbable; both because the Scriptura it self hath *hoc*, and not *hic panis*, and were it not a great boldness in a whole Church to consent to the changing of Christs words of Institution in this divine Sacrament, and foisting in others in place of them? nor see I any reason why the Ethiopique Church in particular should do it, when in the very same Liturgie, it delivers cleerly the change of bread into Christ Body, effected in the consecration of the divine Mysteries?

Canon universalis *Aethiop.* *Hoc est corpus sanctum honoratum, Vitale, domini & salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, quod datum est in remissionem peccatorum vere sumentibus ipsum. Hic est sanguis Domini & salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi sanctus, honoratus, ac vivificans, qui datus est in remissionem peccatorum & adventum consequendam, voce sumentibus eum. Dicit intra, divinum sacramentum esse corpus quod assumpsit ex Maria Virgine. In supra, dicit Sacerdos, hoc est corpus meum: Respondet populus, Amen, Amen, Amen, hoc est vere corpus tuum. Deinde dicit sacerdos, Hic est calix sanguinis mei qui pro nobis effundetur pro redemptione multorum, &c.*

Baxter.

Num. 57. Constantines letters of request to the King of Persia, for the Churches there, (which Eusebius in vita Constantini mentions) do intimate, that then the Roman Bishop ruled not there.

Johnson.

Num. 57. Why so? Might not the Roman Bishop

H

rule

rule there, though the Emperour did not? The King of *Persia*, as not Subject to the Emperour, was not to be commanded, but entreated by him; but might not that stand with the Authority of the Roman Bishop over that Church? May not the King of *France* intreat the King of *Spain* to send his Bishops to a general Council, though both of them acknowledge the Popes Authority over them, and the Churches in their respective Kingdomes? Call you this an Argument?

Baxter.

Num. 58. *Even at home, the Scots and Brittaines obeyed not the Pope, nor conformed about Easter-Observation, even in the days of Gregory, but resisted his changes, and refused Communion with his Ministers.*

Johnson.

Num. 58. No more do you conform to him now: follows it thence, that he never exercised authority over the Church in this Nation? Will you draw a consequence from the disobedience of a Subject to the want of power in a Superiour? Was not this very error ascrib'd to them by Venerable *Bede*, and here acknowledged by you, condemned as an Herefie in the Council of *Nice*? and may you not as well argue thus (even against your own principles) Those *Brittaines* and *Scots* conformed not about the *Easter-Observation* prescribed in the Council of *Nice*; therefore they acknowledged no subjection to the authority of that Council: *Ergo*, That Council never had authority over them: And as to *Communion with his Ministers*, *Bede* tells you, they refused also to communicate with the English, who were then converted, ot to help

Beda Histor.
Ang. lib. 2.
cap. 2.

See V. *Bede*
Hist. Angl. l. 2.
cap. 2.

help towards their conversion; were they also justifiable in this? Or had they any right in Christian charity to refuse it?

Baxter.

Num. 59. *I have already elsewhere given you the testimony of some of your own Writers: as, Reynierius contra Waldenses, Catal. in Bibliotheca patr. Tom. 4. pag. 773. saying, The Churches of the Armenians, and Ethiopians, and Indians, and the rest which the Apostles converted are not under the Church of Rome.*

Johnson.

Num. 59. No more are you, what then? our question is not of what is done *de facto* for the present, but what *de jure*, ought to be done, or has been done at one time or other. This Author says not, these Nations were never under the Church of Rome, (even as you cite him) but *are* not now for the present under him. Know you not that many things have been heretofore, which are not now? Thus I have shewed you (and doubt not but you see it) the weakness of the first eight points of your Reasons. I come now to the ninth, which requires a deeper and larger discussion, as being a main point in your Novel Divinity.

Baxter.

Num. 60. *I have proved from the Council of Chalcedon, that it was the Fathers, that is, the Councils; that gave Rome its prebeminence.*

Johnson.

Num. 60. Sir, I take the boldness to tell you, that you have proved nothing, nothing at all of that matter: what

you say in your second part of the 18 Canon of the Council of *Chalcedon*, proves not what you say here; though that Canon were admitted; of which more hereafter. For the Greek word is not *δεδόκασι* (gave to, or conferred upon *Rome*) those privileges, but *ἀνεδόκασι* (exhibited or deferred to them) to *Rome*, as ever before due unto it, by right of the Apostolick Sea of *S. Peter* established there. And though the Canon alledge for the reason of this, the Imperial power of that Citie, *διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τῆς πόλεως ἱερῆς*, (because it was the Imperial City) yet it neither says, (as you would infer from it) that this was the sole and compleat reason, no nor the chief neither of *Romes* preheminnence, but one amongst some others. Nor can it be understood to be the sole reason, without imputing a contradiction to the Council: For those Holy Fathers in their Epistle to

St. Leo Pope affirm, That *Dioscorus* had
Conc. Calced. extended his Felony against him to whom
in relat. ad Le- our Saviour had committed the charge and
onum. care of his vineyard, that is, the whole

Catholique Church; when that wicked Heretick presumed to excommunicate *St. Leo*. Now the true reason why this Canon mentions rather the Imperial Authority of that City, then the right from *St. Peter* was, because it suited better with the pretensions of *Anatolius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, and his complices, for the elevation of that Sea, then any other; because *Constantinople* had no other prevalent plea for its preheminnence, save the Imperiality of *Constantinople*. Now that this reason of the Imperial seat at *Rome*, is noway exclusive of the right from *S. Peter* is evident from the conjoyning them together by the Emperors *Theodosius* and *Valentinian* in their Laws, made six years before the Council of *Chalcedon*, (whereof the Fathers of that

Coun-

Council cannot be supposed ignorant) where *V de infra*, they say thus. *Three things have established the Primacy of the See Apostolick, the Merit of S. Peter, who is the Prince of the Episcopal Society, the Dignity of the City, and synodical Authority.* Where the original and prime ground is the *Merit of S. Peter*; the other two are subsequent and subservient. For therefore the Imperial Throne is given as a reason, because St. *Peter* thought it convenient, that the Highest Spiritual Authority should be placed in that City, which had highest Temporal Power: as also *Alexandria* was anciently declared the second Patriarchate, by the Decree of the *Nicene* Council, because it was the second Seat in the Empire: and *Antioch*, which was the third, was likewise appointed to be the third Patriarchate; and other eminent Cities, according to their greatness and precedency in the Empire, had the dignity of Primacy and Metropolitan Sees: for by this means Church-government was more sweetly and peaceably instituted and maintained, both to the satisfaction of the Cities themselves, of the temporal Governours, and of spiritual Pastors.

It was (say you) not the Dignity and Authority of St. *Peter*, but the Merits of Vertue and Sanctity, which was alledged in these and like Texts, as ground of the Supereminency of his See at *Rome*; for still they press *meritis Beati Petri* (by the merits of St. *Peter*. I am glad to hear you, against your own Tenets, acknowledge merits of Saints to have been delivered by the Authority of so great a stream of Antiquity in these purer Ages: but it seems withal, you were forepress'd for an Answer, when you could find no other, but what is so disadvantageous to your Cause. And that which is yet worse, it cannot serve your turn neither.

For if those Ancients mean't by *merita B. Petri*, the merits of his Sanctity, and grounded the Primacy of his See in them, it must have been undoubtedly known to them, that St. *Peter* was a greater Saint, and of a life more meritorious, than either S. *Paul*, or S. *John* Evangelist, or S. *Andrew*, or any of the other Apostles; of which none of these had any certainty at all, much less was it a thing received in the Church, that S. *Peter* had a higher degree of Sanctity, than any of his fellow-Apostles: prove there was any such persuasion. Nay it would probably have been esteemed a temerity, a very great curiosity, to have prefer'd the sanctity of any one amongst them before all the rest. But I wonder much, you observed not the manner of speaking of those holy Fathers and grave Authors, who give it clearly enough to be understood, what *Merits* they meant. For had they been of your opinion, they should have added by way of explication, *Meritis Beati Petri, qui sanctissimus erat inter omnes Apostolos*, (by the Merits of S. *Peter*, who was the holiest amongst all the Apostles.) But to shew they understood not that, but the Merits of Dignity and Authority, they usually add this clause, *Meritis Beati Petri, qui Princeps est omnium Apostolorum*, (by the Merits of S. *Peter*, who is the Prince of all the Apostles,) which speaks manifestly a merit, or worth, of Authority. And it were very strange to regulate the Authority of Episcopal Sees by the personal merits of their first Institutors; both because that is (without an express revelation) a thing known to God onely, and would occasion a thousand contentions about the precedency of Bishops; every one being desirous to esteem the Apostle of his City, or Nation, the greater Saint; and because there never was, in Ancient times, any such reason given for the precedency of Episcopal, or Apostoli-

cal Seas; (if there were, shew it) nor ~~was~~ any of the other Apostles successors preferred before the rest, upon pretence that his meritis and sanctity was esteemed greater than that of others.

Baxter.

Num. 61. *But those Councils gave the Pope no pre-eminence over the Extra-Imperial Nations.*

Johnson.

Num. 61. If he had it before, what needed they to give it him? or how could they give him what was due to him by Christs Institution? But supposing, *Argumentandi gratia*, not granting, that they had had power to confer these priviledges upon *S. Peters Sea*, how do you prove they did not *de facto* give them to him, and thereby gave him power over those Extra-Imperial Nations? You prove it thus.

Baxter.

Num. 62. *For 1. Those Nations, being not called to the Council, could not be bound by it.*

Johnson.

Num. 62. Were they not called? sure then they came without calling; for there they were. For had they not been there, how came the Bishops of *Persia*, of both the *Armenia's*, and *Gothia* (which were all out of the Empire) to subscribe to the first Council of *Nice*? How came *Pharabannon*, Bishop of *Vide All. Conc. Nicen. et Ephes.* the *Copti*, to subscribe to the first Council of *Ephesus*? How came that Circular Letter, writ by *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Casaria in Palestine*, in the name of the Council, to be directed to all Bishops, and in particular to the Churches through all *Persia*, and the great *India*,

dia, if the Bishops of those Churches were not called, ^{at} the Council had no Authority over them? Lastly, if those Bishops were not called to the Council, why do *Theodoret*, *Marianus*, *Victor*, *Eusebius*, *Socrates*, all of them, affirm, that to the Council of *Nice* were called Bishops from all the Churches of *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Asia*? You will not forget to answer these questions in your next.

CHAP. IV.

ARGUMENT.

Num. 63. *Emperors alone called no General Councils: so that Extra-Imperial Bishops must have been called by the Pope. Extra-Imperial Churches, under the Patriarchs.* num. 65, &c. One page and a half of *Mr. Baxters Key for Catholics*, occasionally examined; and what defects are found in them. n. 67. *Had the Extra-Imperial Churches not acknowledg'd the Popes Jurisdiction over them, they had not been of the same kind of Government with those within the Empire.* n. 68. *S. Prosper's, and S. Leo's Texts for the Popes Supremacy without the Roman Empire.* num. 69. *S. Leo highly injur'd by Mr. Baxter.* num. 71. *No full express nomination of all the particular Provinces under Alexandria, in the sixth Canon of the Nicene Council.* n. 71. *By Egypt may be under-*

understood Ethiopia, and other adjacent Countries. num. 72. Dr. Heylen and Ross, Protestant Authors, against Mr. Baxter. n. 37. The first of these acknowledges the Arabick Translation of the Nicene Council to be Authentick.

Baxter.

Num. 63. *The Emperours called, and enforced the Councils, who had no power out of their Empire.* Non-proof &

Johnson.

Num. 63. Called they them alone? had they not the Authority of the Roman Bishop joyn'd with them, or rather presuppos'd to theirs. Prove that the Emperours *only* called them. What if they had no coercive power out of the Empire? had they not power to signify to those Extra-Imperials, that a Council was to be celebrated; and to invite them at least to it? Or if they did not, could not the Bishop of Rome, or the other Patriarchs, under whose Jurisdiction they were respectively, notify to them the celebration of those Councils, and require their presence in them? You cannot but see this.

Baxter.

Num 64. *The Dioceses are described, and expressly confined within the verge of the Empire; See both the description and full proof in Blondel de Primatu in Ecclesiâ. Gall.*

Johnson.

Num. 64. I should much rather have had the Description from your self, then have been thus bobb'd off to Blondel, so laxely cited, without Page, Paragraph,

graph, Number, Chapter, or Book, as you cite him here; so that I must be enforced, if I will find it, to turn over his whole Treatise, a Book in Folio of 1268 Pages. Whatsoever therefore is of him (with whom I have nothing to do for the present; for if I would answer every particular Author of yours, whom you cite as wildly as you do this *Blondell*, I might have work enough,) it is evident, that some Extra-Imperial Provinces were under the Ancient Patriarchs. And in the first place, concerning the Bishop of *Rome*, the 39 Canon of the *Nicene* Council, in the Arabick Edition published by *Pisanus*, (which I shall cite more particularly hereafter, and prove the Authenticalness of those Canons) affirms expressly, that the *Roman* Bishop, as being Christ's Vicar, has power over all Christian Princes, Tom. 1. Conc. P. 416. and their people subject to them; and that he, as being the Vicar of Christ, is over all people, and all Christian Churches: and Can. 26. declares, that the Bishop of *Alexandria* has Jurisdiction over the Ethiopick Churches. And Can. 25. orders, that the Bishop of *Antioch* should have Authority over the Church of *Persia*, which was Extra-Imperial. Ibid. pag. 415. And the Council of *Chalcedon*, Can. 28th. so much extolled by you, gives to the Bishop of *Constantinople* Authority over the Barbarous Nations near those parts, that is, such as were Extra-Imperial, as that of *Russia*, and *Muscovia*.

Baxter.

Num. 65, *The Emperors themselves did sometime (giving power to the Councils AEs) make Rome the chief; and sometime (as the Councils did also) give Constantinople equal privilege; and sometime set Constantinople highest, as I have shewed in my Key, pag. 174,*

175.

175. But the Emperours had no power to do thus, with respect to those without the Empire.

Johnson.

Num. 55. I will here give my Reader an assay of the solidity of your proofs, heaped confusedly one upon another in your Key: You cite it pag. 174, 175. Now pag. 174. you translate *Pontifex*, Pope, and *summus Pontifex*, chief Pope. Sure you never had this Translation from any Grammarian, new or old. Who ever, before you, said that *Pontifex* signifies Pope? or what similitude is there betwixt *Pontifex* and Pope, save one-ly, that they both begin with the same Letter. When S. Paul saith, speaking of our Saviour, *Habemus Pontificem magnum*, would you trans-
late it, We have a great Pope? Or when he affirms, that he is *Pontifex secundum ordinem Melchisedec*, would you English it, He is a
Pope according to the order of Melchisedec. I alwayes thought, that *Pontifex*, or *summus Pontifex*, signified the highest sort of Priests, both in the Old Testament and the New, but never heard that it signified Pope before. But you have some drift in this. *Baronius*, say you, in *Martyrolog. Roman. April. 9.* affirms, that all Bishops were stiled anciently, not onely *Pontifices*, but *summi Pontifices*, that is, say you, *Popes*, and *chief Popes*; to infringe thereby what I have gather'd, (as you say) viz. the Supremacy of the Roman Bishop, from this Title, of being stiled *Summi Pontifices*, chief Popes, say you, pag. 173. You should have done well to have told us, who those *some* were; and would have done so, had you writ like a Scholar. But I'll help you out for once. *Bellarmin* is one of that *some* you speak of, *Lib. 2. de Pontif. Roman. cap. 31. sect. Quartum.* But *Baronius*, say you, affirms that Title to have been attribute-
anci-

anciently to all Bishops; that's true too, if you take the Latin words; but not in that sense, wherein *Bellarmin* takes *Summus Pontifex*. For *Baronius* takes it for a chief Priest, and *Bellarmin* for the chiefest, or highest Priest, not onely in respect of simple Priests, who are in a rank below Bishops, and in relation to whom Bishops were anciently stiled *summi Pontifices*, such as were in the highest order of Priests; but absolutely in respect of all other Bishops in the Church. For *Bellarmin*, in proof of this Title, cites an Epistle of Pope *Stephen*, where the Bishop of *Rome* is stiled *Summus omnium præsulum Pontifex*, the highest Bishop of all Prelates, or Bishops. In the same sense he cites *S. Gregory*, and *S. Bernard*. And lastly the sixth Synod, which intitles him, Act. 18. in *Sermon. Acclamatorio, Sanctissimum Patrem nostrum, & summum Papam*, (their most holy Father, and most high Pope) that is, the highest of all Bishops, even over the Bishops of that Council. And though *Baronius*, cited by you, grant the bare words of *summus Pontifex*, as they signifie onely a chief Priest, were anciently given to all Bishops, yet in his *Annals, Anno 215, & 216. num. 3.* from the Title of *Pontifex maximus*, (the greatest, or highest Bishop) that is *summus Pontifex* in *Bellarmin's* sense, he proves the eminent Authority of the Roman Bishop. Now this is worth the noting also, that you first take *summus Pontifex* for the chief Pope, in *Bellarmin's* sense, and then prove that *summus Pontifex*, as it signifies not the chief Pope, but a chief Priest, as *Baronius* takes it, is no proof of his universal Authority.

In your second Paragraph you shew, that the Titles *Papa, Dominus, Pater Sanctissimus, Beatissimus, Dei amantissimus, &c.* were commonly given to all Bishops. Who confute you here? who ever said these Titles prove his Supremacy?

The

The like is of the Church of *Rome*, being called the *mother* of all Churches: *Paraph.* 3. for the term *mother* may be understood either in relation to the first origin; or fountain of Christianity, and in this sense *Hierusalem* is the mother Church; or in regard of authority and government, which a mother hath over her children. And in this sense the title of *mother* is attributed to the *Roman* Church; and proves evidently her authority over all Christian Churches. But is it not very handsome for you, first to affix the title of *mother* absolutely to the *Roman* Church, and then to infringe that title by saying the *Church of Cesarea*, (out of *S. Basil*) is the *mother* of all Churches in a manner. Would you think it a rational answer, if one should prove your mother had authority to correct you by virtue of the title of *mother*; you should answer, that the title of *mother* proves nothing, for your elder sister was as a mother to you in a manner, though she had no authority over you: Is not not this a plain Fallacy, from *simpliciter* to *secundum quid*? *Fallacy 10.*

In your fourth Paragraph you say, If the words be consulted where the *Roman* Church is stiled *mater Ecclesiarum*, (mother of all Churches) for that's her title, they signify only priority of dignity, that is, without authority and jurisdiction over all Churches joyned to that dignity. And this you never go about to prove, so irrefragable is your authority, that your bare word must passe for a proof. I wonder you have the heart to spend paper in such groundless *Parergons*.

In your fifth, you first call these *marks* of flattery, for giving the title of *Universal Bishop* to *Pope Leo*, which the whole Council of *Chalcedon* approved, and read publicly; and therefore must all have concurred with flatterers, and yet in the next line you affirm, that by the title

title of *universal*, they meant no more then the Bishop, which in order of dignity is above the rest; and that you confess, belongs as due to the Roman Bishop: how then account you them flatterers, when they give the Pope no more then his due? Either therefore they were no flatterers; and then you injure them in branding those holy venerable persons with so black a note; or they meant more then you would have them mean by *universal Bishop*; and then you speak untruly, in putting a false gloss upon their words; chuse which you please, you contradict your self.

And you are as consonant to your self in insinuating, that many particular Churches are oft called *Catholick*; What then? *Ergo*, the Title of *Archbishop of the Catholick Church*, or the *Universal Bishop*, proves not the Popes Supremacy: Draw these two together if you can. Yes, there is a difference, say you next, between a *Catholick Church*, and the *Catholick Church*. There is so, but what of that? Then will you say, if you say any thing, there must be a difference betwixt an *Archbishop of a Catholick Church*, and the *Archbishop of the Catholick Church*: Thats true too. But see you not that this discourse quite overthrows yours; for you say not that the title, whose sequel you infringe is, that the Pope is called an *Archbishop of a Catholick Church*, for so is every Orthodox Archbishop as well as the Pope, but that he is called the *Archbishop of the Catholick Church*: These are your precise words. Nor say you, that we stile him an *universal*, or *Catholick Bishop*, for so are all lawfull Bishops, but that we stile him the *universal Bishop*. It seems you have two hands, and those so contrary one to the other that what the one builds, the other pulls down. Then you say, the Bishop of *Constantinople* had that title given him in a Council

at *Constantinople*, Anno 518. But was that Council received as publickly without contradiction in the Church, as this Epistle was received without contradiction in the Council of *Chalcedon*? Was not that *Constantinopolitan* Council condemned both by *S. Gregory* and his Predecessor, as *S. Gregory* witnesses in his Epistle against *John of Constantinople*? and can you name any who in the Council of *Chalcedon* condemned the title given to *Leo* in that Epistle, read in the Council of *Chalcedon*? The truth is, you care not much what you write, so you make a noise.

This done you alledge *Justin. Codex. de Episcopis l. 1. lege 24.* that is, the *First Law*, the *four and twentieth Law*: a learned citation, if yours, and not the Printers oversight in printing *L.* for *T.* for it should be *Tit. 2.* (not 1.) *lege 24.* You cite him thus, *Constantinopolitana Ecclesia omnium aliarum caput* (the Church of *Constantinople* is the Head of all other Churches) whence you prove, that *Justinian* prefers the Church of *Constantinople* before the Church of *Rome*: Surely you never read this Law of *Justinian*: for had you read it, you would have found, by his mentioning there certain Ecclesiastical Officers called *Chartularii*, belonging to the Cathedral Church, that he speaks there only of the great Patriarchal Church of *St. Sophia* in *Constantinople*, and makes it the Head of all other Cathedral Churches in that Patriarchate, and not of the politick body of the *Constantinopolitan* Church, in regard of all other Christian Churches in the world: And your very Concession here concludes, that he prefers not the *Constantinopolitan* in your sense, before that of *Rome*; for you acknowledge he prefers *Rome* before it: For all know that *Justinian's* Laws were so prudently couched and ordered, that such palpable contradictions as these were never noted

ted by any **Classick** Authors to be inserted into them. But whilst you thus take Authors upon trust, hand over head, no marvel, if you make more haste then good speed, in posting out one Book after another.

Presently upon this you fall upon a Story concerning *Vigilius* and *Justinian*, and by that you prove nothing. For *Justinian* might both hold the Bishop of *Rome* was Head of all the holy Prelates of *God*, as he intitles him, C. l. 1. tit. 2. l. 7. and yet persecute him, and abuse him, to draw him to subscribe to what he desired, as many Emperors since *Justinian* have done, who notwithstanding beleev'd and profess'd constantly the universal Supremacy of the Roman Bishop: For when they are injurious to particular Popes, their spleen is not against the Sea or dignity of the Roman Bishop, but against this or that person, who is actually in possession of it. Thus *Justinianus junior* endeavoured all he could, even by force and violence, to draw Pope *Sergius* to subscribe to the Trullane Canons, though he could not effect it: Nay, had you drawn a natural sequel from such proceedings, it should rather have been, That *Justinianus senior* therefore proceeded so violently against *Vigilius*, to induce him to subscribe to the condemnation of the *Tria capitula*, decreed in the fifth Council, because he esteem'd him to be of so eminent power, that it would never have been universally received as a lawful General Council without his Subscription to it, and confirmation of it; which was the reason that mov'd *Justinianus junior* to press *Sergius* so forcibly to subscribe to that in *Trullo*.

Thus I have given a brief Survey of what you cite p. 174, 175. in your *Key*, whence may be collected what your manner of writing is in that loose Treatise; since in little more then in one sole page, occasionally
light

light upon, I have discovered no leſſe then two Equivocations, three Fallacies, four falſe Tranſlations, three Inconſequences, one Miſtake, and two Contradictions. Yet were ſuch defects now and then only to be met with in your Book, it were ſomething tolerable; but ſuch as read it attentively finde it ſwarms all over with them; and is indeed nothing but a *Farrago* of Fallacies and Falſities, heap'd one upon another throughout the whole Tract: Pardon me, if I have been more bold with you in anſwering this paſſage of *your Key*, then in what you have writ againſt me: for I neither find you ſo mainly defective in that, as in this other; and where you are ſo, I labour to ſmother what I can, that I may not ſeem to be too ſevere with you in my own concern.

What you ſay in this Paragraph by way of Parentheſis, *That the Emperors gave power to the Councils Acts*, if you mean, they gave any ſpiritual Authority, by force of Vote or Suffrage to them, you neither have prov'd it, nor can prove it: if you mean, they gave only a coercive power, for the external Obſervation of thoſe decrees, which by virtue of the Councils Authority, obliged all Chriſtians to aſſent to them, you ſay true, but nothing againſt us.

Baxter.

Num. 66. *But what ſay you now to the contrary? Why*
 1. *You ask*, Were thoſe Primitive Chriſtians of another kinde of Church Order and Government, then were thoſe under the Roman Empire? Anſw. *When the whole body of Church-Hiſtory ſatisfies us, that they were not ſubject to the Pope, which is the thing in queſtion, it is any weakening of ſuch evidence,* Non-proof.
in a matter of ſuch publick fact, to put ſuch a queſtion

as this, Whether they were under another kinde of Government?

Johnson.

Num. 66. I have now shewed that Church-History is so far from proving what you say, that it proves the quite contrary; and had it been otherwise, why cited you not here some one Ecclesiastical Historian (seeing I prest you to it in my second Paper in confirmation of your Assertion? My question therefore is of force, and stands unsatisfied, till you prove what you say here.

Baxter.

Num. 67. *We know they were under Bishops or Pastors of their own, and so far their government was of the same kind.*

Johnson.

Num. 67. It could not be of the same kinde; for those under the Empire acknowledged themselves subject to the Roman Sea; as they were parts of the Catholick Church; which whole Catholick Church they profest to be subject to that Sea; and consequently all the true parts of it, as shall appear, when I come to the justification of my proofs; whereby all this whole Paragraph of yours will be enervated.

Baxter.

Num. 68. *You say that, how far from truth this is, appeareth from S. Leo, in his Sermons, De Natali Svo, where he says, Sedes Romæ Petri quicquid non possidet armis, religione tenet. Reply, If you take your religion on trust, as you do your Authorities, that are made your ground for it, and bring others so it,*

when

when you are deceived your selves, how will you look Christ in the face, when you must answer for such temerity? Leo hath no Sermons de natali suo, but only one Sermon affixed to his Sermons, lately found in an old Book of Nicol. Fabers. And in that Sermon there is no such words as you alledge. Neither doth he Poetize in his Sermons; nor there hath any such words, as might occasion your mistake; and therefore doubtless you believed some body for this that told you an untruth, and yet ventured to make it the ground of charging my words with untruth.

Johnson.

Num. 68. How this citation came under the name of S. Leo, I really know not: My Authentical Copie written in my own hand (which I have shewed to some of credit, and am ready to shew it you, or any one, who shall desire to be satisfied) hath no such citation; nor can I learn how it crept into the Paper which was sent you, if it were not by the addition of a confident friend who writ out part of my Reply, in whose hand-writing I find it: and I my self being out of Town when my Reply was sent, out of a desire to comply with your request for a speedy Answer, it was sent away in my absence, so that it could not be perused by me, which is insinuated sufficiently in the end of my paper, where I desire you to excuse what errors you find in the Copie which I sent. But however, there is only a nominal error, in citing St. Leo for St. Prosper, who is something ancients than St. Leo, and lesse to be excepted against by you, then he; as being wholly disinterested in that matter of the Popes Supremacy. Now this Text of St. Prosper is so notoriously known amongst Scholars, and so usually cited Authors, that I

wonder you perceived not, that it was a mistake in the name only, and that the Text it self was true and reall, nay much more forcible against your new invention, then as it stands cited in my Paper. For whereas it is imperfectly quoted there, and much more weakly, as you printed it (I suppose by an error of the Printer, though I find it not amongst the *Errata*) where it hath neither force nor sense (for you print *almis* for *armis*) whereas I say it is there cited thus, *Sedes Roma Petri, quicquid non possidet armis religione tenet.* (*Rome the Seat of Peter, whatsoever it possesses not by force of Arms, it possesses by means of religion*) the Text of St. Prosper

D. Prof. er.
Carm. de Ih
g. acia.

hath it thus, *Sedes Roma Petri, quae Pastoralis honoris facta caput mundo, quicquid non possidet armis religione tenet.* (*Rome, the Seat of Peter, being made Head of Pa-*

storal honour to the world, possesses by means of Religion, whatsoever it possesses not by force of arms. Thus St. Prosper: And to the same effect in another place,

D. vocat. Græc.
lib. 2. c. 6.

he affirms, *That the principality of the Apostolick Priesthood hath made Rome greater through the Tribunal of Religion, then through that of the Empire.* * But that

you may see the whole force of this Text of S. Prosper, is emphatically also delivered by S. Leo, though not in Verse, yet (as it seems) alluding to these Verses of St. Prosper, (for he uses the same expressions, which I wonder you marked not, in perusing his Sermons) in these words, making an Apostrophe to the City of Rome, and relating to St. Peter and St. Paul. *Isti sunt qui se ad hanc*

e. Leo, Serm. 1.
de Natal. Apo-
stol. Petr. &
Paul.

gloriam provenerunt, ut gens sancta, populus electus, civitas sacerdotalis & regia, per sacram beati Petri sedem caput orbis efflata, latini præsideres religioni divina, quæ dom-
inatione

minatione terrenâ. *Quamvis enim multis aucta villori-
is jui imperii tui terrâ mariq; preuleris, minus tamen
est, quod tibi bellicus labor subdidit, quam quod pax
Christiana subjecit.* (These, viz. S. Peter and S. Paul,
are they, who have elevated thee to this height of glo-
ry, that thou shouldst be a holy Nation, an elect Peo-
ple, a Priestly and Kingly City, that being made Head
of the World, by the Seat of Blessed *Peter*, thou shouldst
have a larger command by means of Divine Religion,
then terrene Domination. For though being augmented
by many victories, thou hast extended thy Empire
through Sea and Land, yet it is less, which warlike la-
bour brought under thy command, then what Christian
peace hath subjected to thee.) And to the same effect
the same S. *Leo* writes to *Anastasin* Bishop of *Thessa-
lonica*, telling him, That the great order
of the Church instituted some one in eve- S. Leo. epist 81.
ry Province, to have power over the rest, ad Antiochen
and that such as were seated in the more Epist. thessal.
ample and noble Cities, should have power over such,
as were in particular Provinces; by means whereof the
care of the *Universal Church* (n. b.) might flow to the
Sea of *Peter*. Mark well, he says not the care of the
Churches within the Empire, as you do; but the care
of the *Universal Church*.

Baxter.

Num. 69. Yet let me tell you, that I will take Pope *Leo*
for no competent Judge, or Witness though you call him
a Saint: as long as we know what passed between him and
the Council of Chalcedon, and that he was
one of the first tumified Bishops of Rome, Non proo' r.
he shall not be Judge in his own Cause.

Johnson.

Num. 69. Sir, I am really mov'd to compassionate you, when I see you write in this manner. Had it not been enough for you to extenuate the Authority of the Holy Council, as you here do, but that you must, as the *Chalcedonian Council* sayes of *Dioscorus*, extend your spite against him (that is *S. Leo*) to whom our Saviour hath committed the care of the Vineyard, to wit, his whole Church? Who ever before you, and those Novellists of your spirit, since the time of *S. Leo*, branded him with the black note of a *Tumfied Pope*? Was it not this great *S. Leo*, of whom the Council of *Chalcedon* pronounced, that the care of Christ's Vineyard was committed to him by our Saviour? Was it not he, who was stiled by the Ecclesiasticks of those times, *The Oecumenical Bishop*? Did not that holy Council call him, *their Head*? *their Father*? *their Director*? and you fear not to call him a *Tumfied Pope*. I beseech God to forgive you. And what, I pray, past betwixt him and the Council of *Chalcedon*, which might occasion this rash censure? Read his Epistles to the Council, and to *Anastassus* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, and you will see, it was nothing but the zeal of conserving the Authority of the *Nicene Council*, in the Order and Dignity of Patriarchs, which moved him to withstand that surreptitious Canon for the preferring *Constantinople* before *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*; to which the *Nicene Council* had decreed the two first Patriarchates, after *Rome*. The Primacy of his Sea was not questioned at all in that Canon: for it is there expressly ordained, that *Constantinople* should be the second after *Rome*. Now for you to call him a *Tumfied Bishop*, for no other reason,

son, given here, then for seeking to maintain the Ancient Decrees of *Nice*, against all innovations of subsequent Councils, will seem very strange, I suppose, to all Christian Readers.

Baxter.

Num. 70. *But you add, that the Abassines of Ethiopia were under the Patriarch of Alexandria anciently, and he under the Authority of the Roman Bishop.*
 Reply. 1. *Your bare word without proof shall not persuade me, that the Abassines were under the Patriarch of Alexandria, for above three hundred, if not four hundred years after Christ. Prove it, and then your words are regardable.*

Johnson.

Num. 70. Why say you, I speak without proof, when I direct you (pag. 42.) by saying *as we shall see presently*, to my proof of it; which is pag. 45. where I prove it from one of your own Historians.

Baxter.

Num. 71. 2. *At the Council of Nice the contrary is manifest by the sixth Canon.* Mos antiquus perdurat in Egypto, vel Lybia, vel Pentapoli, ut Alexandrinus Episcopus horum omnium habeat potestatem, &c.

Johnson.

Num. 71. Your argument is fallacious, and proceeds *a parte ad totum*. The Canon says no more, then that, according to the ancient custom, Egypt, *can. Nicen. c. 6.* Lybia, and Pentapolis were subject to him: which may be most true, though more Provinces were under his Jurisdiction then these. Should one say, that *England and Scotland* is now subject to our most

gracious Sovereign, *Charles* the Second, durst you conclude thence, that *Ireland* was not part of his Kingdom. Nor was it here the intention of the Council, to nominate expressly all the Provinces under *Alexandria*; nor to make a new Constitution, but a Decree of Confirming the Ancient Custome about the Jurisdiction of Patriarchs. Now seeing *Meletius* and his Complices, had schismatically exercised Jurisdiction in those Provinces, the Council, to abrogate that intrusion and usurpation, had a particular occasion of nominating these three, thereby to restore the Ancient Right to the See of *Alexandria*, leaving the other parts of that Patriarchate (about which there was no controversy) to the ancient custome, without nomination of particulars; as it did in relation to *Antioch*, where none at all are nominated in that Canon, because there was no such occasion given of nominating any, but leaving that Patriarch to that extent of Jurisdiction over those Provinces and Churches, which he was known in those times, to have possessed anciently. Moreover some of the Learned are of opinion, that under the name of *Egypt*, *Ethiopia* is included. And it seems probable, that *Egypt* was a denomination including many other particular Countreys and Provinces in those parts; for the *Constantinopolitane* Council, c. 2. citing this 6th. Canon of *Nice*, says that it was decreed in that Canon, that the Patriarch of *Alexandria* should govern onely the affairs of *Egypt*, neither naming *Lybia*, nor *Pentapolis*, which are specified in that *Nicene* Canon, so that *Egypt* included all the adjacent Countreys in those parts, and consequently *Ethiopia*:

Sacrat. l. 1. c. 6.

Theodor. l. 1.

c. 9.

Conc. Nicen.

Can. 6.

Baxter.

Num. 72. *And the common descriptions of the Alexandrian Patriarchate, in those times, confine it to the Empire, and leave out Ethiopia.*

Johnson.

Num. 72. You should have done well, to have cited some Authors, one at least, in proof of this, seeing I had cited one, and he of your own, who says the contrary. When you produce those *Descriptions*; they shall be answered. In the *Interim* I stand to my Assertion, as not yet disproved.

Ros. p. 99. infra citat.

Baxter.

Num. 73. *Pisanus new inventions we regard not.*

Johnson.

Num. 73. The question is not what you regard, or regard not; but what you ought to regard according to right Reason. I doubt not, but Dr. Heylin hath the esteem of a person as much indued with Learning and Reason, as your self; who hath so much regard to *Pisanus* his Edition of the Arabick Canons of the *Nicene* Council, that he cites them as Authentic, and thereon grounds the subjection of *Ethiopia* to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, to have been confirmed in the Council of *Nice*, and continued so ever since. Behold *Ros* and *Heylin*, (both your own) are against you.

Canon 36. Arab. Edit.

Dr. Heylin. Cosmograph. lib. 4. pag. 977. Edit. ultim.

Chap.

CHAP. V.

THE ARGUMENT:

Num. 74. *Proofs from Antiquity, that the Bishops of Alexandria were more subject to the Bishops of Rome, then are the rest of the Earls of England to the Earl of Arundel or the younger Justices of the Peace to him, who in a Sessions is the Eldest amongst them.* *ibid.* Bishops of Rome exercising Spiritual Jurisdiction and Authority over the three first Patriarchs of the East. n. 75. No limitation to the Roman Empire mentioned in Antiquity, in relation to the Popes Authority. num. 76. If any one Extra-Imperial Church be granted subject to Romes Authority. all others must be so a paritate rationis, unless some reason be alledged, why that was subject, rather then others? n. 79. No Emperor could give Authority to Rome over Extra-Imperial Churches. n. 80. Primacy and Primate put absolutely in the Ecclesiastical signification, argues alwayes Jurisdiction over others. No Ancient Authority alledged, or alledgeable, that the Bishops within the Empire made the Pope chief Bishop, even in place, or meer precedency, before Constantine's time, or that the Bishops of the West constituted him by unanimous consent, to have Power, and Jurisdiction over all the Western Bishops.

Baxter.

Num. 74. I deny, that the Patriarch of Alexandria was under the Government of the Bishop of Rome, any more then the Jury are under the Foreman; or the Junior Justices on the Bench under the Senior; or York under London; or the other Earls of England, under the Earl of Arundel.

Johnson.

Num. 74. I perceive you are very free in your denials; but it had been well done, to have considered twice, before you deny once, a thing so evidently true as this is. Was the Patriarch of *Alexandria* no more under the Bishop of *Rome*, then those, which you here nominate, one under the other? Are you serious? Why then did the Christians of *Pentapolis* write their accusations to *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome* against *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria*? Why did the same Pope, calling a Council in *Italy* for that end, sit in solemn

ANNO 263.
S. Athanas. de
Sentent. Dionys.
Idem in Cam. de
Synod.

Judgement upon his Cause, and write Monitory Letters to him, to send him the Confession and Declaration of his Faith; which he did accordingly, and justified himself to the Bishop of *Rome*? How came *Peter* Bishop of *Alexandria*, by virtue of Pope *Damasus* his Letters, to be restored to his Bishoprick? Why writ *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, to prevent the writing of *S. Chrysostome*, to Pope *Innocentius*, in his own defence, that he might escape the sentence and punishment of the Churches censure, which *S. Chrysostome* required the

ANNO 337.
SOCRAT. l. 4.
c. 30.

ANNO 404.
Apud Palladium
Dialog.

Pope

Pope to inflict upon him, and his complices? Why did

Anno 407.

D. Chrysost. e-
pist. ex Septem.

Tom. 5. opusculum

ejus. Extat etiam
Tom. 1. epist.

Rom. Pont. post

Innocent. ep. 16.

Anno 451.

Innocentius the First, together with the

other Occidental Bishops, excommuni-

cate *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Alexandria*?

How came *Dioscorus*, Patriarch of *Alex-*

andria, to be deprived from sitting in the

Council of *Chalcedon*, and to be presented

before the Council, as a guilty person, by

vertue of a Sentence to that effect, from

S. Leo, Bishop of *Rome*? *Council Chalced.*

Art. 1. Evagr. lib. 2. cap. 4. What was the reason, why

Timotheus Solopaciolus craved pardon of Pope *Simplicius*,

for reciting the name of *Dioscorus* at the holy *Altar*,

compelled to it, as he affirms, by the Eutychians? What

reason had Pope *Simplicius* to write objuratory Letters

to *Acacius*, because in a matter of so great moment, as

was the restitution of *Petrus Mogus*, the Eutychian, to

the Sea of *Alexandria*, and the exclu-

sion of *Joannes Talaida* a Catholick, Ca-

nonically elected to that Sea? Or why writ

those of *Alexandria* to Pope *Simplicius*,

to intreat him to confirm the election and

instalment of *Joannes Talaida*? What moved *Joannes*

Talaida to procure Commendatory Letters to *Simplici-*

us from *Calendion* Bishop of *Antioch*, to favour his Ap-

peal against *Petrus Mogus*, and *Acacius*? And why did

Felix, Successor to *Simplicius*, with a Western Council,

wherein he presided, send a Writ, by way of Citation,

to *Acacius*, to answer in the Judicature of *Rome*, to the

Objections made against him by the said *John*? And

why writ *Felix* to *Zeno*, the Emperour, to compel

Acacius to appear, and answer to his

Adversaries at *Rome*? And why was

Petrus Fullonis condemn'd for having

been

Libert. cap. 18.

Evagr. l. 3.

c. 18. & seq.

been intruded, with exclusion of the lawfull Bishop *Calendion*, into the Sea of *Antioch*? And why writ *Acacius* himself to *Felix*, Bishop of *Rome*, to confirm his condemnation of *Petrus Gnaphens*, and *Joannes* Bishop of *Apamea*?

cod. Cressani,
and *Collect. re-*
cusa. apud Ra-
ronium. Tom. 61
Liberat. c. 18.

Nor will your usual Solution to my subsequent Objections serve your turn. For it appears evidently in the form used in Excommunications and Condemnations from *Rome*, they were, not onely Declarations that the Bishop of *Rome*, and his Bishops, substracted themselves from communicating with them (which, say you, any Christian may do) but a positive ejection of them out of the Church, and from the Communion of all faithfull Christians. Thus runs the Excommunication and Condemnation of *Acacius*, Bishop of *Constantinople*, and his adherents, the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, given out against them by Pope *Felix*. *Habe ergo cum his quas libenter amplecteris, portionem ex sententia prasenti. Sacerdotali honore & Communione Catholica, necnon etiam a fidelium numero segregatus, sublatum tibi munus Ministerii Sacerdotalis agnosce, Sancti Spiritus judicio & Apostolica auctoritate damnatus, nunquam, Anathematis vinculis exuendus.* (Receive therefore thy portion, with those, whom thou so willingly embracest, by vertue of this sentence. Thou art separated from Priestly Honour, from Catholick Communion, and from the number of the Faithfull. Know that thou art deprived of Name and Ministry of a Priest, being condemned by the judgement of the Holy Ghost, and by Apostolical Authority, never to be loosed from the bonds of this *Anathema*.) See here, 1. A positive exclusion from the number and communion of the Faithfull. 2. A deposition from Priesthood, or being Bishop. 3. That this is done, not

not by way of counsel, but of authority, *authoritate Apostolica*, it was done by the Popes Apostolical Authority. 4. That this judgement of the Apostolick Sea is attributed to the Holy Ghost. And lastly, That the Pope exercises this high authority over the three chiefest and highest Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Constantinople*, at the same time. From which it will hereafter sufficiently appear, how groundlesse your Answers are to my Objections. But to proceed.

Nor yet can you alledge (as you do to some of my proofs) that these were unlawful, and unjust proceedings. For first, The matter of the sentence was not unjust, those being Hereticks, Schismaticks, Intruders and Usurpers, against whom the sentence was decreed: and that it was not unjust, as proceeding from one who had no authority to inflict such a punishment, is clear: For neither did the Catholick, nor Orthodox Christians, no nor those very Schismaticks, who were thus censur'd by *Felix*, pretend any thing against the power of his Authority over them; and if any such plea were used by them, let it be evidenced out of authentical Authors in or about those times. Now to your discourse, if either the Foreman of a Jury, or the Senior Justice upon the Bench, or the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, or the first Earl of *England* should pronounce a penal sentence against those, who respectively are inferiour only in place and precedency to themselves, would it not be judged profoundly ridiculous?

Baxter.

Num. 75. *But if both these were proved, that Ethiopia was under Alexandria, and Alexandria under Rome, I deny the consequence, that Ethiopia was under Rome: for Alexandria was under Rome; but secundum quid, and*

and so far as it was within the Empire; and therefore those without the Empire, that were under Alexandria, were not therefore under Rome.

Non-proof 2.

Johnson.

Num. 75. Your ground is untrue, for I have proved *Alexandria* to have been absolutely and totally under *Rome*, in the example of *Dionysius*, Anno 263. which was before the conversion of *Constantine*, and before any Council through the whole Empire could be assembled: and that in the *Nicene* Council, there was no restriction of that Patriarchal Sea to the Precincts of the Empire; nor of the *Roman Sea* to *Alexandria*, as comprehending only the Imperial Provinces; prove any such limitation was made there. Now if before the Council of *Nice*, and before the Church was under Christian Emperors, *Rome* had such power over *Alexandria*, &c. and that proceeded not from the Institution of Christ, shew (as you are obliged) when, how, and by whom that power was given to it in those times.

Cpn. Nicen.
cap. 6.

Baxter.

Num 76. And if it could (as it never can) be proved of *Abassia*, what is that to all the other Churches in *India*, *Persia*, and the re rest of the World?

Johnson.

Num. 76. Yes, 'tis very much; for it sounds an Argument *a paritate rationis*, that seeing no considerable reason can be given, why one Extra-Imperial Province should be subject to *Rome* more then all the rest, if one be proved subject, all others must be supposed to be so, unless some particular reason can be alledged why this

was subject more than the rest. For till that be done, there can no reason be given, why any of the Extra-Imperial Churches were subject to the Roman Bishop, save this, that he was Governour over all the Churches and Bishops in the world, and consequently as much over all Extra-Imperial, as over all Imperial Churches.

Baxter.

Num. 77. *Sir, If you have impartially read the Ancient Church-History, and yet can believe, that all these Churches were then under the Pope, despair not of bringing your self to believe any thing imaginable; that you would have to be true.*

Johnson.

Num. 77. 'Tis your pleasure to say so. I shall be moved to believe you, when you convince me by reason: Non-proof, but your bare word without reason, has no poise at all with me, nor I think with any one, who is led by reason.

Baxter.

Num. 78. *Your next Question is, When the Roman Emperors were yet Heathens, had not the Bishops of Rome Supremacy over all other Bishops through the whole Church? Answ. No, they had not; nor in the Empire neither. Prove it, I beseech you better then by questioning. If you ask, Whether men rule not Angels? Your Question proves not the Affirmative.*

Johnson.

Num. 78. I do not nakedly ask the Question, but prove what I say by an Instance, as you presently acknowledge.

Baxter.

Baxter.

Num. 79. But you ask again, Did those Heathen Emperours give it him? *Answ.* 1. Power, over all the Churches none ever gave him, till titularly his own Parasites of late. 2. Primacy of meer degree in the Empire, for the dignity and many advantages of the Imperial seat, the Bishops of the Empire gave him by consent (Blondel de Primatu, gives you the proof and reason at large) yet so, as that small regard was had to the Church of Rome, before the Nicene Council, as saith your Aeneas Silvius, Pope Pius the second.

Johnson.

Num 79. But I have now proved the power and Authority of the Roman Bishop to be over all Nations, that were Christian, in the instances given above. If therefore the power he had were given him by the Emperours, they must have given him power over all Churches; which no Emperour could do, as having no Authority over Extra-Imperial Churches. Whence follows evidently, the power he had could not have been given him by the Emperours. And as little could that of precedency even over the Empire, have been given him before the Nicene Council by the Bishops within the Empire, for there is no step in antiquity of any such gift, and if there be, shew when, and by whom it was first given him. Nor, were that admitted, would it satisfy the difficulty, for the Bishop of Rome had precedency not only over all the Bishops within the Empire, but through the whole Christian world, for so is Blondel forced to acknowledge, page 14. and page 528. I would gladly have some evident proof from Antiquity, that the word *Primacy*, put absolutely or
K alone,

alone, *πρωτῆς* or Primate, in the Ecclesiastical signification, signified a *precedencie*, only of *meer degree*, or place, and not a true Authority and Jurisdiction over those, in relation to whom one is said to have primacy, or to be Primate. Run over all those who had the dignity of Primate in ancient times, and name any one, who in vertue of that *Primacy* had not true Ecclesiastical Authority over others, in relation to whom he had that *Primacy*. Do not both yours and ours, think they defend and oppose sufficiently the Roman Bishops Authority, asserted by Catholicks, when they call it in Latine *Primatus Romani Pontificis*, the Primacy of the Roman Bishop? Has not *Bellarmino* and *Stapleton* of ours, *Whitaker*, *Chamier*, and *Blondel* of yours, with many others, disputed that question largely, under the name of *Primatus* or Primacy? *Blondel*, p. 527. acknowledges this to be the common and ordinary signification, and produces one only instance, where primacie is taken for precedency of place onely, and there it is not put absolutely, but with this Adjunct, *Primacy of honour* by age, *Primance d'honneur par l'age*. Should you affirm, that the Bishop of *Canterbury* in quality of Primate, had only a meer primacy of *degree*, or *locall precedency*, and no authority conferred upon him by force of his primacy, had he not reason to be highly offended with you? Seeing therefore in the Council of *Chalcedon*, reciting the forenamed Canon of *Nice*, it is affirmed, that the See of *Rome* had *ever the Primacy*, and seeing no adjunct or limitation is given there, that the word *Primacy* is not taken in the usual Ecclesiastical signification, to wit, for a primacy in *authority* and *jurisdiction*, it must be understood in the usual signification. There was indeed anciently a *precedency of place*, amongst the other Patriarchs,

*Ecclesia Romana
semper habuit
primatum.*

triarchs, Primates, and Metropolitans, but were any of them, for that reason termed their Primates, or said to have *Primacy*, in relation to those before whom they sat in the Councils, or before whom they took place in all publick Assemblies? You will not fail, I hope to bring such clear Instances in your next Reply, as are here demanded of you. You cite me here *Blondel*, and *Aeneas Silvius* so confusedly, without Book, Chapter, Page or Column, that I think it not worth my pains to spend time in seeking them: if they have any thing worth your citing, or satisfactory to what here I say, either set it clearly down in your next, or give me some clear means to know what you stand upon in those two Authors.

Baxter.

Num 80. *Whether the Bishop of Rome had power over the Bishop of Arles, by the Heathen Emperors, is a frivolous question.* Arles *Fallacy 11.*
was in the Roman Patriarchate, and not out of the Empire. The Churches in the Empire might by consent dispose themselves into the Patriarchal Orders, without the Emperors, and yet not meddle out of the Empire. Non-proof. 10

Johnson.

Num. 80. You proceed Sophistically, *a possibili ad actum.* The Question is not, What the Bishops might have done; but what they did. Now you affirm, they did form themselves into Patriarchates by free consent, make it appear to have been so, by Authentical Testimonies from Antiquity. I bring you proofs that their subjection to him, was out of that most publick Tradition, that he was successor to *S. Peter*. Bring *vide infra.* me as many that he was made Patriarch of the

West, before *Constantines* time, by force of free consent of the Western Bishops under the Empire. Is it not a plain Paradox to affirm, that a thing should be done by publick consent of a thousand Bishops, through the whole Western Church, and yet there should be no one step of proof, no word of any Historian for it in all Antiquity?

Baxter.

Num. 81. *Yet indeed Cyprians words intimate no power Rome had over Arles, more then Arles had over Rome: that is to reject Communion with each other upon dissent.*

Johnson.

Num. 81. S. Cyprians words shall be examined hereafter in their proper place.

CHAP. VI.

ARGUMENT:

Num. 82. *The four first General Councils proved by many Reasons and Authorities to be truly and properly Oecumenical, having Authority over all Christian Churches, as well without as within the Roman Empire. num. 84, 85. Whom Mr. Baxter accounts univocal Christians, and proper parts of the Catholick Church. num. 86. Whether he have made a good choice for himself. num. 88. No Heretick properly so called, can have true Christian Faith in any Article whatsoever;*

soever, and consequently can be no part of the Catholick Church. num. 90, 91. Christ the sole Head of the whole Church, Triumphant and Militant. The Bishop of Rome, no more then Head of the visible Church on earth, and not absolutely, but secundum quid, that is according to the external and visible Government onely; and even that not as having all other Bishops under him, as his Officers, but as Christs Officers together with him; they of their respective Districts and he of them, to direct and correct them, when need requires it.

Baxter.

Num. 82. Nay, it more confuteth you, that even under Heathen Emperours, when Church-associations were by voluntary consent of Pastors only; and so if they had thought it necessary, they might have extended them to other Principalities yet de facto they did not do it, as all History of the Church declareth, mentioning their Councils and Associations, without these taken in. Non-proof 11.

Johnson.

Num. 82. Where are your proofs? I deny any such consent to be extant in Antiquity; nor could those Provincial, or Nationall Councils call the Extra-Imperials to sit with them; because they were only of the Provinces, which were within the Empire; and had no Authority without the precincts of their respective Churches. Now you will give me leave to discover the weakness and inconsistency of your Novelty, about the first four

General Councils having had no power without the Empire. First, the very ^a Titles of the Councils themselves confute you; where they are called *ἐκκλησιαστικαί*, that is, universal, or General. Nor can you say, that is meant onely through the Empire; for you hotly contend, that the word *ἐκκλησιαστικαί*, (universal) is extended to all Christians through the whole world. *Part. 2.* Secondly, ^b they call themselves *General*. Thirdly, the Canons, Decrees, Definitions are *General*, without any limitation more to the Empire, then to any other part of the world, as is clear out of all the Canons and Decrees themselves. Fourthly, Historians of all Ages call them *Oecumenical*, or General, and never intimate any Imperial limitation; if they do, produce the Historian, that calls them National, or Imperial Councils. Fifthly, the whole Christian world, ever since their times, have esteemed them General, and to have had an obligatory power and authority over all Christians. Sixthly, the holy Fathers, ^c who speak of them, stile them *General*, *Oecumenical*, *plenary*, yea *plenissima*, &c. ^d Seventhly, Protestant Authors (so far as I can see) before

^a Vide titulum Conc. Nicen. ^b Conc. Chalcedon. *Act. 16. ap. Binnium. p. 484.* ^c D. Aug. tom. 7. contra Donatist. lib. 2. cap. 13. — ut dicit Concil. in suis quibusque regionibus diversa Statuta mutaverint, donec plenarie totius orbis Concilio quod saluberrime sentiebatur, etiam renuatis dubitationibus firmaretur — — — Hoc enim jam in ipsa totius orbis unitate discussum, consideratum, perfectum atque firmatum est. — loquitur de Concil. Niceno. Now it is evident, that S. Aug. by his totius orbis means totius orbis Christiani, the whole Christian world, that is, the whole Church of Christ, as appears by a hundred places of his against the Donatists; when he says, they have separated themselves from the whole world, that is, from the whole visible Church: and this you confess to be true, *pag. 229, 230, &c.* of your Book. ^d Produce any one of them, who limits these Councils to the Empire, or denies them to have had power to oblige all Christians.

you

you esteemed them *General*, without any limitation ; and if you can cite any, who say the contrary, I pray do it. * Eighthly, the very Statute-Books of *England*, since Protestant times, call them General. † Ninthly, your 39 Articles call them General ; and the Fathers, when they call them General, they distinguish them also from Provincial, or National Councils. Tenthly, ‡ Orthodox Writers commonly affirm, that what they define is the Definition of the Catholick Church. § All who resist their Definitions in matter of Faith, have ever since been universally branded with the note of Hereticks, whether they were within, or without the Empire. ¶ Extra-Imperial Provinces and Churches have anciently, and do yet subscribe to them. Lastly,

* *Ann. 1 Elizabeth. cap. 1. Versus form capitis. † Artic. 21.* where by saying *Some General Councils have err'd*, they suppose there have been General Councils in the Church, which had Authority out of the Empire : For those, as you confess, were onely National, or Imperial Councils. ‡ *D. Aug. tom 7. de Baptismo, cont. Donatist. lib. 2. cap. 3. § D. Aug. ibid. cap. 1. & cap. 4. & cap. 9.* Sic ait, si autem Concilium ejus (Cypriani) attenditur, hinc universæ Ecclesiæ posterius Concilium (Nizenum intelligit) præponendum, cujus se membrum ostendebat, & ut se in totius corporis compage retinendâ ceteri imitarentur, sapienter admonet. Nam ut Concilia posteriora prioribus apud posteros præponatur, & universam partibus semper jure optimo præponitur. † Thus were the Arians, Quartodecimans, Rebaptisers, Macedonians, Nestorians, Eutychians, even in *Ethiopia* and *Armenia*, &c. observed ever since Hereticks, for resisting the Definitions of those Councils. § *Cæn. universalis Ethiopum* prays for the Fathers of the three First General Councils, and affirms they were gathered for the defence of the right Faith : and not for those of the Fourth Council, because the Eutychian Heresie, which they hold, was condemned in the Council of *Chalcedon*. *Epist. Armen. prima ad Leon. Imperat. ubi se subjuiciunt 4 primis Conciliis. & in aliâ Epist. ad eundem, idem faciunt Episcopi Armeniæ Secunda. apud Binium. pag. 535. Conc. Tom.*

not onely all kind of Authority, but plain reason, overthrows this your Novelty.

For first, the end, why these Councils were gathered, was to procure peace amongst Christians, not in the Empire onely, but through the whole Catholick Church, and to put a final period to the controversies defined in them, as appears from the Authorities now cited out of *S. Austin*. Now if the Extra-Imperial Nations had not been obliged by those Definitions, the controversies had still continued among them, as much as if no such Definition had been made. Secondly, if any desired to embrace still the Heresies condemned in them, it was but conferring themselves to the Extra-Imperial Churches, and they had freedom in conscience from their former obligation, as not being bound there to subscribe to the Councils Decrees. So that every obstinate Heretick might shake off these Decrees at his pleasure. Thirdly, if any Nation, or Province, should have been by force of Arms won from the Empire, which was under it in time of these Councils, they would *ipso facto* have been freed from obeying the Decrees, and believving the Doctrine of these Councils. Fourthly, if on the contrary any Extra-Imperial Nation had been reduced under the Empire, *eo ipso*, it would have contracted an obligation to conform to the Decrees of the said Councils; so that Christian belief should have depended on the fortune of War. Fifthly, if your assertion were true, it would follow, that now *de facto* neither *Spain*, *France*, *Italy*, *England*, *Denmark*, *Swethland*, *Poland*, nor any of the Eastern Churches are obliged to subscribe to the *Nicean* Council, (and the same is of the rest) otherwise then of their free choice, ever since they were from under the command of the Empire. Nay hence will follow, that even those of *Germany*, by reason that

is another Empire, instituted independently of that in those ancient times ; and consequently, that no Christian Churches in the world, have any obligation successively descending down to them, of obeying and following the Decrees of the four First General Councils. My last reason is, that those Extra-Imperial Christians, who embraced the Heresies condemned in any one of those Councils, never alledged this reason of yours, that those Councils had no power to oblige them, because they were not under the Empire : and I pray you, in your next, produce any such reason, authentically testified, to have been alledged by them.

Baxter.

Num. 83. See now, how little your objections are worth; and how granddeedly you bid me, See now how little my Allegations are to the purpose.

Johnson.

Num. 83. Now you will have seen, which proofs (your or mine) have been more to the purpose.

Baxter.

Num 84. As for the rabble of Hereticks, which you reckon up, (as you esteem them) some of them are no Christians univocally so called, and those cannot be of the Christian Church.

Johnson.

Num. 84. You would have given better satisfaction to your Reader, if amongst all the Sectaries particularis'd by me (pag. 43. in your Book) which were to the number of eighteen, you had determined, which of them you had esteemed Christians univocally so called, and which not : but whilst you leave him thus in obscurity, telling him opely, that some of them were not univocal Christi-

Christians, and not telling him which *same* you mean, I believe he will have little satisfaction. Yet by justifying the latter part, that is, almost one half of them, in your next ensuing words, and excusing
Num. 84. some of the rest, he may gather, that you account Montanists, Donatists, Nestorians, Eutychians, Iconoclasts, Berengarians, Waldensians, Albigenes, Wickliffists, and Hussites, *Univocal* Christians; and consequently true parts of the Catholick Church, in your Principles.

Baxter.

Num. 85. Others of them were better Christians, than the Romanists, and so were of the same Church with us: And it is not many reproachfull names put on them by malice, that makes them no Christians, or of many Churches, or Religions. If an arrogant Usurper will put Nicknames on all, that will not bow to him as Vice-Christ, and call them Iconoclasts, Berengarians, Waldensians, Albigenes, Wickliffists, Hussites, Lutherans, Calvinists, (you may as well give a thousand more names) this makes them not of various Religions, nor blots out their Names from the Book of Life.

Johnson.

Num. 85. I have not Baptis'd any of them; they were publickly known by these names many a fair year, before you or I was born: and since I desired to be understood, I was to express them in such names, as they commonly are known by: whether they deserve the names I give them, or no, is not our dispute now. I think they did, when I called them so; and that they deserve it as much as either Arrians, or Donatists, or Pelagians, &c. deserved to be branded with the names of those several
 Arch-

Arch-Hereticks that broached them. Nor can I yet find that the Roman B. whom you rudely call a Tyrant, was more the imposer of those names upon the fore-named Sectaries, then upon Arrians, Donatists, or Pelagians, &c.

Baxter.

Num. 86. *I have in my most retired thoughts perused the History of those mens Lives, and of the Lives of many of your Popes, together with their several Doctrines; and with Death and judgement in my eyes, as before the great God of Heaven, I humbly beg of him, that I may rather have my everlasting portion with those holy men, whom you burned, as Waldenses, Albigenes, Hussites, &c. then with the Popes that burned them, or those that follow them in that cruelty, unless reconciling Grace hath given them repentance unto life.*

Johnson.

Num. 86. I humbly beg of God, that he deliver you from ever coming to that place, where any of those, which I mentioned as condemned Hereticks, are in the other world: I hope, he has prepar'd a much better for you. But tell me seriously, would you indeed be content, rather to be with the *Albigenes*, who held Two Gods, the one Good, and the other Evil, with the Manichees; who denied 1. the Old Testament; 2. that Baptism profited Infants to Salvation; 3. that an unworthy Minister could consecrate the holy Sacrament; 4. that wicked Prelates had any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, or were to be obeyed; 5. that it is lawfull to swear in any occasion whatsoever, &c. then with *Alexander* the Third, whom no Christian in those times ever accused of Heresie, or Er-

*Bernard. Lut-
semburg. de Al-
bigenf. Vide ec-
clesiam S. Anton.
4 parte summa.
Tit. II. c. 7.*

four

roure in Faith, who was elected against his will, and after a Schisme made by *Ostavianus* the Anti-Pope and *Frederick* the Emperour, was received both by the Western and Eastern Churches, excepting onely the party of *Frederick*; who notwithstanding after acknowledged him, and relinquish't *Ostavianus* the Anti-Pope.

Alla Alexand.
3. ap. *Romuald.*
Episcop. Salern.
in *sua Cronica.*
& ap. *Rogeri-*
um in Epist. A-
lexand. & in
Hist. sua.

And whatsoever latter Historians relate by *Hear-say*, of the insulting of this Pope over that Emperour, yet those, who recorded what past before their eyes in the time of *Alexander*, record nothing but, what became a modest and Christian Prelate of his eminency.

Baxter.

Num. 87. *The Religion of all these men was one, and they were all of one Universal Church.*

Johnson.

Num. 87. This is your grand Novelty, at which I chiefly aim in this Answer. It is not easie to conjecture, what you mean by *all these men*, whether the Iconoclasts, Berengarians, Waldensians, Albigenses, Wickliffists, Hussites, Lutherans, Calvinists, which you named in the end of *pag. 105.* and again *pag. 106.* in your *Edit.* or those whom I named *pag. 43.* of your Book, that is, all at least amongst them, whom you account *Univocal* Christians: amongst which are Donatists, Nestorians, Eutychians, Pelagians. And can you, or did yet ever any Christian before you account these men to have had *one Religion*? Is the Religion of those, who say *there are Two Gods*, the same with that, which teaches there is no more but one onely God? if so, then Heathens and Christians may be as well of *one Religion*. If not,

not, then could not at least the *Albigenses*, be of one Religion with the rest; whom I have proved to have held two gods; Of the rest more hereafter.

Baxter.

Num. 88. *Where you again call for one Congregation, I tell you again, that we know no unity Essential, from whence the Church can be called one, but either Christ, or the Vice-Christ: the former only is asserted by us, and the latter also by you; which we deny. And therefore we cannot call the Universal Church, one, in any other formal respects, but as it is Christian, and so one in Christ.*

Johnson.

Num. 88. We acknowledge the Church to be *one in Christ*, as much as you, but we acknowledge him as *Head*; not to be the Formal, but the Causal unity, that is, working the formal unity, to wit, Faith and Charity in his Church. It is not enough to make one living organical body, that there be one head and parts, but those parts must be united to their Head, and amongst themselves, and to that Head: Nor is it enough; that there be several parts in the Church; and one head of it, but those parts must also be united to their Head, and amongst themselves; otherwise they are not *one*. Now that which is the formall cause of this Unity, is true Christian Faith and Charity, which do both unite Christians amongst themselves, and to Christ their Head. I mean that necessary and prime charity, which preserves external Communion, and society amongst Christians, so much celebrated by the Fathers and Schoolmen, which is taken away by nothing but Schism, or that which includes Schisme.

Schism : Whence appears, that to whomsoever the name of Christian is vulgarly given, unless there be found true Faith and this Christian charity amongst all the other members, they cannot be actual parts of the one true Catholick Church : When therefore you say, the Church universal cannot be called *out, in any other formal respect, but as it is Christian*, if you mean by *Christian*, all such as have true Christian faith and charity, (*ut supra*) you say true ; and you say nothing, but what all good Christians say. But then here comes the difficulty, how any Heretick or Schismatick can be a Christian, more then *nominè tenus*, in denomination only, or in a laxè acception of the word, for such as make a bare profession to beleeve in Christ, and are thereby distinguished from Jewes Mahumetans and Heathens, and so pass under the notion of Christians.

For if to be a Christian in our present strict sense, be required a true Christian Faith, then all that are true Christians have true faith ; but no Heretick hath true faith ; *Ergo*, No Heretick is in this strict acception, a Christian. The *Major* is evident : I prove the *Minor*. Whosoever hath true faith, beleeveth the material object of faith (or the thing beleeved) for the Divine Authority of God revealing it : But no Heretick beleeves the material object of faith (or the thing beleeved) for the Divine Authority of God revealing it ; *Ergo*, no Heretick hath true faith. The *Major* is granted by all Divines, yours and ours. For Christian faith must rest upon Gods revelation, as its formal object. I prove the *Minor*. Whosoever beleeves the material object of faith, (or thing beleeved) for the Divine Authority of God revealing it, must beleeve all things, which are as sufficiently propounded to him to be revealed by God, as are the rest of the Articles which he beleeveth, protesteth to, and

and beleve nothing as revealed, which is as sufficiently declared to him to be erroneous, or not revealed by Divine Authority, as are the Articles of Faith propounded to be revealed by God: But every Heretick either refuses to beleve something, which is so sufficiently propounded to him to be revealed from God, or beleeves something as revealed, which is so sufficiently declared to him to be erroneous, or not revealed from God; *Ergo*, no Heretick hath true faith. The *Major* I prove thus, as to the first part: Whosoever refuses to beleve what is so sufficiently propounded to be revealed by God, either beleeves all that is so propounded, or beleeves some things, and refuses to beleve others, as sufficiently propounded as those which he beleeves. But if he refuses all, he can have no true faith; for he beleeves nothing, and consequently is no Christian. If he beleeves some, and refuses others equally propounded, he beleeves them not for the Divine Authority revealing, (for when *that* is equally propounded to his understanding, it ought to work equally upon it) but upon his own willful choice, or private judgement refuses one, and assents to the other.

To illustrate this, Let this sentence of Scripture, *Tertia die resurget*, (*he shall rise again the third day*) be so sufficiently propounded to be Gods revelation, that whosoever refuses to beleve the substance of our Saviours Resurrection delivered in it, is justly condemned for not beleieving Gods revelation. Now suppose some new Heretick (as I have heard of one such lately) should beleve, that Christ did rise again from the dead, yet dis-believes that he rose the third day, and persuades himself, that his Resurrection happened some time after the third day: Let such an Heretick be asked why he beleeves, that Christ rose from death, if he

he tell you because God hath revealed it in the fore-named sentence, then ask him what moves him to beleeve that God has revealed it: if he tells you, because he finds it clearly expressed in this sentence of Scripture, which he beleeves to be Gods revealed word, demand further, why he beleeves it to be his word? he will tell you, because it is sufficiently propounded to him as such, so that he is satisfied that it is the Word of God. Then presse him thus: But certainly, you beleeve not that place of Scripture to be the Word of God; for if you did, you would beleeve all that it contained in it, which you do not; for it is as clearly exprest in that sentence, That Christ rose again *the third day*, as that *he rose at all*: but you beleeve not that he rose *the third day*; *Ergo*, You beleeve not that Sentence to be the Word of God; *Ergo*, You cannot beleeve that Christ rose again, for the authority of Gods word in that sentence; *Ergo*, You beleeve it not because God has revealed it; *Ergo*, You have no divine Faith at all of the mystery of the Resurrection, but a meer humane perswasion, grounded upon your own particular phansie or reason that it is so. Thus you see it is impossible to beleeve any thing, which God has revealed, for the Authority of Divine revelation, unless he who beleeves gives the like assent to every other truth, (be it of what importance, great or small, in it self, makes nothing to our present difficulty) which is as plainly proposed to him to be revealed from God, as that which he beleeves.

To make this yet more facile to the unlearned, I will declare it by a Vulgar instance. Suppose there were some honourable and worthy Person in a Commonwealth, of so great credit, that what he says is beleeved by every one as an undoubted truth. Some other of credible Authority tells his friend, this Honourable per-

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son has told him two things, and affirmed both of them to be true of his own knowledge; his friend tells him he beleeves the one, but will not by any means assent to the other. He asks his friend, Why beleeeve you the first? He answers, because such a person affirms it to be true. He demands further, why beleeeve you he said so? the friend answers upon your relation. Then says the other. you hold my relation to be a sufficient inducive to make you beleeeve he said the first. Yes, says his friend, I do; not so, replies the relator; for if you did, you would beleeeve he said the second, as well as the first; for I assure you as much that he said the one as the other. Now what can his Friend answer? he must either say, that he beleeves not the Honourable person said so, upon the sole authority of the others relation, and consequently, that neither of those truths were sufficiently propounded to him by that relator, and so could beleeeve neither the first not the second, contrary to his former acknowledgment, and our present supposition; or he must deny that he beleeves the second of of those relations, though the Honourable Personage said both the one and the other; and then it is evident, he beleeeved not the first upon the sole credit of his saying, but for som other reason of his own. For if he had beleeeved the first upon his sole word, he must have beleeeved the second also; seeing he had as much reason to beleeeve he said the second as the first.

Thus I have endeavoured to prove the first part of my *Major*. Now I prove the second, *Viz.* That no man can have true Christian faith, who beleeves any thing as revealed from God, which is as sufficiently propounded to him to be erroneous, or not revealed from God, as are the Articles of Faith, to be Gods revela-

tions; the very same Authority which affirms the one, denying the other. Let us suppose some rigid Calvinist, beleeving the Pope to be that great Antichrist, foretold in the Revelation; and that the very same authority, which (as he acknowledges) sufficiently propounded to him the Articles of Christian Faith, as revealed from God, assured him, that no such matter as the Popes being that great Antichrist, was ever revealed, and that it was a manifest error in Faith. In this case either that Calvinist must dis-beleeve that propounding Authority, and thereby loose his Faith in the former Articles, and have no true Faith at all in the first, or beleeve it in the second, because it is still the very same Authority in both. For that very Authority which propounds the Articles of Faith as revealed from God, propounds this as not revealed, and as contrary to Gods revelation.

Baxter.

Num. 89. *Yet I have herewith satisfied your demand,*
 Non-proof. 12. *but shewed you the unreasonableness, of it*
beyond all reasonable contradiction.

Johnson.

Num. 89. You are very prone to assert without proof: Where have you shewed the unreasonableness of my demand? Tell me, I pray, in your next; for you have not yet done it.

Baxter.

Baxter.

Num. 90. *You next inquire, Whether we account Rome and us one Congregation of Christians ? I answer, the Roman Church hath two heads, and ours but one ; and that's the difference.*

Johnson.

Num. 90. Who ever accounted a King and a Viceroy, a Bishop and a Vicar, a Captain, and a Lieutenant, a Master and a Steward, *two Heads* respectively to their Territories and Jurisdictions ? Can you call the head and the neck two heads, because both of them with subordination the one to the other ; are placed above the rest of the body ? The head is the highest part of an Organical body, and whatsoever is subordinate to that, is no head absolutely, though it be next the head, and higher then all the other parts. Christ is only the Head of his whole Church, comprising the Militant and Triumphant; and of this whole Church the Pope is a part, but no Head. The Holy Councils and Fathers indeed stile him sometimes Head of the visible Militant Church (as we shall see hereafter) but that is only in regard of the visible government of the Church, not absolutely and sovereignly : for the only sovereign head of the Militant Church works in it, and governs it invisibly, by his holy lights and inspirations, and particularly him who is its visible Head according to its visible government. There is therefore amongst us one only absolute head of the Church ; the other hath no absolute Inde-

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pendent power over it, but is as truly a part of the Church, depending as much on the absolute head, as any other part doth: There is but one King and Master of the Militant Church, all the rest, even the highest, are no more then his Officers, with a limited and restrained power, that is, in order to the sole external and visible government of it, not having other Bishops under him, as *his Officers*, but as Officers of Christ, and subject to him, as hereafter shall be further declared. Nor yet have you given here any direct answer to my Question I demand, whether you account *Rome* and Protestants one Congregation? To which you answer, the Roman Church hath two heads, and the Protestant but one, and that's the difference. Now this gives no satisfaction to my demand, for the Question inquires not, Whether there be any difference betwixt us and you? that was out of Question, but whether that difference assigned by you be so great, that it hinders them from being one Congregation, and that you resolve not, and thereby leave the difficulty unanswered.

Baxter.

Num. 91. *They are Christians, and so one Church as united in Christ, with us and all other true Christians. If any so hold their Papacy and other Errors, as effectually and practically to destroy their Christianity, those are not Christians, and so not of the same Church as we. But those that do not so, but are so Papists, as yet to be truly and practically Christians, are and shall be of the same Church with us, whether they will, or not.*

Johnson.

Johnson.

Num. 91. You tell us what would follow, if such things as you fancy were done ; but you tell us not whether it is possible to do them or no. Can a Papist, think you, remaining still a Papist, so hold his Papacy and other pretended errors, as to destroy Christianity ? if he cannot, why trifle you away time in printing such Chimerical conditionals ? if he can, tell us how and by what means ? which you have not done, nor indeed can you do it. For how is it possible for two persons to be both Papists, that is of the same Faith in all things (for otherwise they will not be both Papists) and the one of them only to be a Christian, and the other none, but *practically and effectually destroying Christianity ?*

Baxter.

Num. 92. *And your modest stile makes me hope, that you and I are of one Church, though you never so much renounce it.*

Johnson.

Num. 92. I never saw a man labor so confidently to persuade one out of his Religion, upon so weak grounds, as you do : And truly something might be done in time, to make you and me of one Church, if I knew what Church you are of. For you contradict so loudly the Tenets of all those who pretend either to be the Church, or parts of the Church before you, that I cannot finde but you are of a Church by your self (which no man knows

but your self) and then I'm sure, you neither are, nor can be of one Church with me, so long as you remain in the state you are in, yet it is the height of my desires, that we may both be joyned in one Catholick Church, which I shall most earnestly and unfainedly beg of God, still hoping that your zeal and ardency in what you profess, may (as it did *S. Paul*) bring you to see, and embrace his true Church.

Baxter.

Num. 93. *As Papal, we are not of your Church ; that's a new Church-form.*

Johnson.

Num. 93. Prove it is *new* ; you know well enough, we hold it to be *ancient*.

Baxter.

Num. 94. *But as Christian, we are and will be of it, even when you are condemning, torturing, and burning us, (if such persecution can stand with your Christianity.)*

Johnson.

Num. 94. I have shewed you are not *as Christian*, (speaking univocally) of one Church with us : For true Christianity requires true faith, which I cannot believe you have ; nor have you proved it, as shall appear hereafter. I am unwilling to revive the memory of those
seve-

severities you mention, and you also might have pleased to have buried them in Oblivion; for in objecting them to us, you refresh the remembrance of *yours* towards us; nor yet see I why such severities can better stand with your *Christianity*, then with *ours*.

CHAP. VII.

ARGUMENT:

Num. 95. *Roman Catholicks and Protestants cannot be of one and the same Church.* num. 96. *Length of time, or continuance, excuses not the succeeding Hereticks, or Schismatics, from the crimes of their first beginners.* num. 97. *When Protestants deserted external Communion with Rome, they deserted together with it the external Communion of all other particular visible Churches, and that upon the same grounds.* n. 98. *Mr. Baxters exclamation against Rome is injurious to all other ancient particular Churches existent immediately before the first beginners of*

Protestancy. n. 99. All the Kingdoms in the world, not one visible, but only invisible Kingdome, under Gods invisible providence and power which governs them: and in that regard an unfit instance to prove different particular Churches, without one visible governour of them all, to be one visible Church num. 100. His opinion of actual Hereticks and Schismaticks properly so called, contrary to all Authors, ours or his own, and to Christianity it self, num. 101. How Alphonſus à Caſtro held them to be members of the Church, num. 102. Every Heretick properly so called, denies ſome eſſentials of Chriſtianity, num. 103. Pelagians undoubtedly and manifeſt Hereticks and Schismaticks. The Catholick Church ſo perfectly one, that its not capable to be divided.

Baxter.

Num. 95. But you ask, Why did you then ſeparate your ſelves, and remain ſtill ſeparate from the Communion of the Roman Church. Anſw. 1. we never ſeparated from you, as you are Chriſtians, we ſtill remain of that Church as Chriſtian, and we know (or will know) no other form, becauſe that Scripture and Primitive Churches knew no other. : Either you have by Popery ſeparated

separated from the Church, as Christian or not. If you have, its you that are the (damnable) Separatists. If you have not, then we are not separated from you, in respect of the form of the Christian Church.

Johnson.

Num. 95. You separated as much from us as did either Novatians or Pelagians or Donatists, or Acacians, or Luciferians, or Nestorians, Eutychians, &c. did from the Catholick Church of their respective times: which is enough for us to deny you to be of one Church with us, or to be any true parts of the Catholick Church. If it be not so, shew what you can say for your selves, which any of those Hereticks might not as well have alledged in their own defence; for neither did any of them separate from the Church as it was Christian; nor did either the Pelagians, Donatists, Acacians, Luciferians, Novatians, dis-beleeve any essential point of Christian faith, if Protestants dis-beleeve no essential; what you say of not separating from us *as we are Christians*, is a precision never used by Catholick, or Heretick in ancient times; nor indeed did ever any Heretick, who esteemed himself a Christian, affirm he separated from the Church as it was Christian; for that had been to deny himself to be a Christian, which no Heretick ever did; so that if this excuse save you from Schismatical separation, every Heretick in the world may be excused as well as you. Actual separation and refusal of external Communion with all the Churches in the world of their time (as your first beginners did) was ever esteemed

esteemed, and will ever be esteemed by Orthodox Christians, a destruction of true union with the visible Church of Christ, under what notion or precession soever it be done, because as Dr. *Hammond* affirms, *lib. de schismate*, there can be no sufficient cause given for any such separation.

Baxter.

Num. 96. *And for your other form, (the Papacy)*
1. *Neither I, nor my Grand-father, or great Grand-father, did separate from it, because they never entertain-
ed it.*

Johnson.

Num. 96. This is strange doctrine, and would help out an Arrian, or a Donatist, at a dead list, after a hundred or two hundred years continuance of those Heresies, no lesse then your self. Is not the maintaining of a Separation, or Schisme, ever termed amongst Christians, a Schism, or separation, even many generations after it begun? Were not the succeeding Donatists, after some ages, as truly esteemed Schismaticks, as the first beginners of their Schisme? S. *Austin* called them Schismaticks, and said they had *left the Church* above a hundred years after their first parting from it.

Baxter.

Num. 97. *Those that did so, did but repent of their sin, and that no sin: We still remain separated from you as Papists, even as we are separated from such, as*

we are commanded to avoid, for impenitency in some corrupting Doctrine, or scandalous sin: whether such mens sins, or their professed Christianity be most predominant at the heart, we know not; but till they shew repentance we must avoid them; yet admonishing them as brethren, and not taking them as men of another Church, but as finding them unfit for our Communion.

Johnson.

Num. 97. This is one of the handsomest passages of your whole Reply, and shews a secundity of invention to maintain a Novelty: But give me leave to tell you, it will not, it cannot acquit you of separating from the true Church of Christ. Had you indeed deserted the sole Communion of the Papacy, as you term it, it might have born some shew of defence, though no more then a shew; but seeing when you separated from that, you remained also separate as much from all particular visible Churches in the world, as from that there can be neither shew nor shadow of excuse in it. For you must either say, that all the particular Churches in the world existent immediately before you, Anno 1500. were guilty of impenitency in some corrupting Doctrine, or scandalous sin, for which you were commanded to avoid them; which were both to contradict Tertullian, cited by your self, page 235: *Equid verisimile est*, &c. to prove the contrary, and thereby to condemn your selves of manifest Schisme, which is nothing but a separation of ones self from the whole Visible Church; or you must say, there were some particular Churches then existent, not guilty of that impenitency in some corrupting Doctrine, or scandalous sin, to which Churches you adhered, when you first

first separated from the Roman, and with which you lived in external Communion; and then you are obliged to shew, design, and nominate, which that Church, or those Churches were; which neither you, nor any of your professors ever yet did, or could doe.

Nor will it excuse you to alledge, you communicate with all Churches as *Christian*: for whilest you profess your selves Christians, you cannot affirm, that you left all Churches, as they are Christian; and by this means never yet any Heretick, no neither *Arrian*, nor *Sabellian*, could be convinced to have separated from all Churches, for never would any of them acknowledge, that they left them as Christian, seeing they all not only protested, but really beleevved themselves to be Christians. Now if you will acquit your selves of separation from Christs Church, shew in your Rejoynder some visible Churches, pre-existent immediately before you, and co-existent with you in your first beginning, which did not pray for the dead, desire the assistance and Prayers of Saints for themselves, use and reverence Images in their Churches; which had not Altars, Priests, Masses, reall and proper Sacrifices; which held not Bread and Wine to be really changed, by vertue of consecration into Christs true Body and Blood, before they received them; which hold not *S. Peter*, and him whom they esteemed his lawfull Successor, to be the Supream visible Governour, next under Christ, of the whole Militant Church, as is declared above: Or which held not some other points as points of Faith which you deny, or held not, or denied some points which you hold to be points of Christian faith, by reason whereof you had sufficient reason to leave their external Communion, if you had reason to forsake that

that of *Rome*. For till this be shewed, all the world will see, that as you separated from all other particular Churches, as much as from those who adhere to the Church of *Rome*, so had you the very same, or equivalent Reasons to separate from them : So that in accusing the Church of *Rome* of *impunity in some corrupting Doctrine, and scandalous sin*, you accuse in like manner all other Christian Churches then existent in the World together with her.

Baxter.

Num. 98. *But O Sir, what manner of dealing have we from you : must we be imprisoned, racked, harg'd, and burned, if we will not believe that Bread and Wine are not Bread and Wine, contrary to our own and all mens senses ; and if we will not worship them with divine worship, and will not obey the Pope of Rome in all such matters, contrary to our Consciences ; and then must we be chidden for separating from you, if we can but a while escape the Strappado and the flames ? what ? will you blame us for not believing, that all mens senses are deceived, and the greater part of Christians and their Traditions (against you) are false, when we read, studie, and suspect our selves, and pray for light, and are willing to hear any of your reasons, but cannot force our own understandings to believe all such things that you believe, and merely because the Pope commands it : and when we cannot thus force our own understandings, must we be burned, or else called Separatists ? would you have the Communion of our Ashes, or else say, We forsake your Communion ? In your Churches we cannot have*
leave

leave to come, without lying against God and our Consciences, and saying, We believe, what our senses contradict; and without committing that, which our Consciences tell us are most heinous sins. We solemnly protest; that we would do as you do, and say as we say, were it not for the love of truth and holiness, and for fear of the wrath of God and the flames of Hell: but we cannot, we dare not rush upon those Errors, and sell our souls to please the Pope. And must we then either be murdered, or taken for uncharitable? Will you say to so many poor souls, that are ready to enter into another World; Either sin against your Consciences, and so damn your souls, or else let us burn and murder you, or else you do not love us; you are uncharitable, if you deny us leave to kill you, and you separate from the Communion of the Church. We appeal from the Pope and all unreasonable men, to the great God of heaven and earth, to judge righteously between you and us concerning this dealing.

As for possessing our selves of your Bishopricks and Cures, if any particular person had personal injury in the change, being cast out without cause, they must answer for it that did it, not I; though I never heard any thing to make me believe it. But must the Prince and the people let alone Delinquent Pastors, for fear of being blamed for taking their Bishopricks? Ministers of the same Religion with us may be cast out for their crimes: Princes have power over Pastors as well as David, Solomon, and other Kings of Israel had. Guil. Barclay, and some few of your own know this. The Popes unreasonable exemption of the Clergie, from the Sovereigns judgement, will not warrant those Princes before God, that neglect to punish offending Pa-
stors.

stors. And I beseech you tell us, when our Consciences
 (after the use of all means that we can use to be infor-
 med) cannot renounce all our senses, nor our reason,
 nor the judgement of the most of the Church, or of
 Amiquity, or the Word of God, and yet we must do
 so, or be no members of your Church, what wrong is it
 to you; if we chuse no Pastors of our own, in the order
 that God hath appointed? Had not the people in all
 former ages the choice of their Pastors? We and our
 late Fore-fathers here were never under your over-sight;
 but we know not why we may not now choose our Pa-
 stors, as well as formerly, we do it not by Tumults:
 We kill not men, and tread not in their blood, while
 we chuse our Pastors as Pope Damasus was chosen:
 The Tythes, and other Temporal maintenance we take
 from none; but the Magistrate disposeth of it as he
 seeth meet for the Churches good: And the maintenance
 is for the cure or work; and therefore that are justly cast
 out of the cure, are justly deprived of the maintenance.
 And surely when they are dead, none of you can with
 any shew of reason stand up and say, These Bishopricks
 are yours, or, These Parsonages are yours: It is the
 Incumbent personally that only can claim the Title;
 saving the super-eminent title of Christ, to whom they
 are devoted. But the successive Popes cannot have ti-
 tle to all the Tythes and Temples in the World, nor any of
 his Clergy, that never were called to the charges. If
 this be dis-union, it is you that are the Separatists,
 and cause of all. If you will needs tell all the Chri-
 stian World, that except they will be ruled by the Pope
 of Rome, and be burned if they believe not as he bids
 them, in spite of their senses, he will call them Sepa-
 ratists, Schismatics, and say they dis-unite, and are un-
 charitable;

charitable; again we appeal to God, and all wise men that are impartial, whether it be he or we, that is the divider.

Johnson:

Num. 98. By what is now answered, this your long Rhetorical Exclamation, from *page 108. to page 112.* is also solved: For all that the Church of *Rome* demands of you, even to the *denying of your senses*, and *subverting of your judgement*, was in the year 1500. required of you by all Visible Ancient Churches in the World, and you are not able to nominate any one, where it was not. Change therefore the term *Pope*, or *Church of Rome*, into that of the *Catholick Church of Christ*, that is, all Orthodox particular Churches existent at that time, which are comprised in the number of *all visible ancient particular Churches* then existing, and address your exclamations to it, and then you will see how little of a Christian complaint there is in that whole digression. To this therefore I presse you once again, to produce some Visible Church in the year 1500. from whose visible Communion you were not separated in your first beginning *Anno 1517.* as much as were the *Pelagians* or *Donatists* from all Visible Churches in their times? And to render a sufficient reason, why your *dis-obeying*, or *subtracting* your selves from the dependance and obedience of all the Visible Pastors in all Churches, *Anno 1500.* was not as much deserving to be termed and held a criminal Schism, and spiritual Rebellion, as any former separation from all Visible Churches.

Baxter.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 99. *You ask me*, Is not Charity, Subordination, and obedience to the same State and Government, required as well to make one Congregation of Christians, as it is required to make a Congregation of Commonwealth's-men? *Answ. yes it is. But as all the world is one kingdome under God, the universal King, but yet hath no universal vice-king, but every Commonwealth only hath it's own Sovereign: even so all the Christian world is one Church under Christ, the universal king of the Church; but hath not one vice-Christ, but every Church hath it's own Pastours, as every School hath it's own School-master. But all the Anger is, because we are loth to be ruled by a cruel usurper; therefore we are uncharitable.*

William Johnson.

Num. 99. You commit the Fallacy of *ignoratio Elenchi*, and pass *a genere in genus*. I speak of a visible Kingdome, or Commonwealth, as it is regulated by a visible Government; and you take it, as it is invisibly govern'd by an invisible Providence. In this sense only are all the kindomes of the earth one kingdome, under the invisible Government of the Invisible God; but cannot be truly called one visible kingdome, but more. Now it is evident through the whole discourse, that our present Controversie is of the visible Church, as it is visible; and in this sense it is, and must be one; and consequently must be under some visible Government, which must make it one. That cannot be Christ, for he governs not his Church now visibly; *Ergo* there must

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be some other: and that must either be some Assembly of chief Governours; as would be a General Council: or some one person, who has Authority to govern the whole body of the Church. A general Council it cannot be: for, that was never held to be the ordinary, but only the extraordinary Church-Government, when emergent occasions require it: and even when that is convened, there must be some one person, to avoid Schisme, and quiet Controversies, which may possibly arise in the Council, with Authority above all the rest. It is therefore manifest, the Church cannot be perfectly one, visible, politick Body, unless there be one visible head to govern it visibly, as the ordinary Governour of it. I beseech you, Sir, reflect often upon this distinction; and you will see the chief ground of your discourse answered by it. For to say, (as you do here) that the Church is one visible Kingdome, & yet to make it no more one visibly, then the School of *Christ-Church*, or *Westminster*, is one visible School, is in my Logick to speak-contraries.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 100. Your next reason against me is, because *They cannot be parts of the Church, unless Arians and Pelagians, and Donatists be parts; and so Hereticks and Schismaticks be parts.* Reply. 1. You know sure, that your own Divines are not agreed, whether Hereticks and Schismaticks are parts of the Church.

William Johnson.

Num. 100. You cannot but see, I speak of parts of the Church, as you understand *parts*: and therefore I say (pag. 48. in yours) *Secondly, your position is not true.*

Now

Now your position is to hold, that some Hereticks properly so called, are *parts* of the Church of Christ, and united to him as their Head; by reason, that they believe with a true Christian Faith the Essentials of Christianity, whereby they are Christians, though they erre in some Accidentals, as appears by that distinction so often used by you. In this sense then, I say, you hold Hereticks to be true and real parts of the Church. And this I affirm to be contrary to all Christianity, and a novelty, never held before by any Christian.

Though therefore, taking the word *parts* in another more lax and improper sense, and the Church as it is a visible body and government, one only Catholick Author (* *Alphonſus à Caſtra*.) thinks, Hereticks may be called *parts* of the politick Body of the Church, (as She hath power over them to inflict punishment upon them,) by reason of the character of Baptisme, which makes them ever remain subjects of the Church, and lyable to her censures: yet he holds expressely, that they have no true Christian Faith at all, (quite against you) whereby they can be made *parts* of Christ's Church, united to Christ as their Head, as you hold, they are. And the like is of Schismaticks. For though some Catholick Author's, doubt, whether they may be termed, by reason of the profession of Christian Faith, *parts* of the Church, in a large sense, yet none ever held, as you doe, that they were united to Christ as their Head (and thereby compose one Christian Church)

* *Lib. 1. de Hæret. puni. c. 24. Hæreticus est per Hæresim perdat fidem, non tamen eo ipso est prorsus ab Ecclesiâ separatus, sed adhuc est pars illius corporis, & membrum eius, &c. Et infra, Fautor quidem, & micro quidem iudicio negari non potest, Hæreticum, esse partem Ecclesiæ, & membrum illius, & non esse omnino ab illâ separatum, quia est fidem non habeat, habet tamen Characterem Baptismalem, per quem primum factum est membrum Ecclesiæ: quod durante semper erit membrum illius.*

with other Catholick Christians, because they want that *principal Christian Charity* required as necessary to a compleat union to Christ. Your opinion therefore is contrary to all those of the *Roman Church*; and shall (God assisting me) be * proved contrary to all Christians and Christianity, and of most dangerous and damnable consequence. But you must know, that a *Castro's* opinion is censured by all other Doctours; and thereby improbable: nor yet makes the ground of his opinion, Hereticks and Scismaticks more of the Catholick Church, then are those Christians, who are damned in hell; for even they have the Character of Baptism, and yet he says, that so long as that Character remains they are Church-members: *quo durante, semper eris membrum illius.*

* See my second Part.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 101. *And if they were, yet it is not de Fide with you, as not determined by the Pope.*

William Johnson.

Num. 101. 'Tis determined contrary to your sense, a hundred times over, by all the *Anathemas* and Excommunications, thundred out against them, in so many General Councils.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 102. *If it be, then all yours are Hereticks, that are for the affirmative; (Bellarmine nameth you some of them.) If they be not, then how can you be sure it's true, and so impose it on me, that they are no parts?*

William

69)
William Johnson.

Num. 102. I have now told you. None of ours ever held them *parts*, as you doe ; that is united to Christ their Head , as the rest of the parts are , by Faith and Charity.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 103. Arians are no Christians, as denying that which is Essential to Christ ; and so to Christianity.

William Johnson.

Num. 103. 'Tis very true ; they are no real univocal Christians : and your reason is good , *because they deny that, which is Essential to Christ, and so to Christianity.* But hence will follow, that no proper Heretick whatsoever, is a real, univocal Christian : for all of them deny something Essential to Christ , and so to Christianity : which I prove thus ;

Whosoever denies Christ's most Infallible veracity, & Divine Authority , denies Something which is Essential unto Christ.

But every Heretick, properly so called, denies Christ's most infallible veracity, and divine Authority :

Ergo, Every Heretick, properly so called, denies something which is Essential to Christ, and so to Christianity.

The *Major* is evident : I prove the *Minor*.

Whosoever denies that to be true , which is sufficiently propounded to him to be revealed from Christ , denies Christ's most infallible veracity and divine authority.

But every Heretick, properly so called, denies that to

be true, which is sufficiently propounded to him to be revealed from Christ.

Ergo Every Heretick, properly so called, denies Christs most infallible veracity, and divine Authority.

The *Minor* is clear. For that is properly to be an Heretick. The *Major* is also clear. For how is it possible to deny that to be true, which is sufficiently propounded to me to be revealed from Christ, without affirming, that Christ said something which is not true: which is manifestly to give Christ the lye; and to doe that, is to deny openly his divine veracity. This Argument, I hope, you will please to think of seriously; and either give an Answer in form to it, or relinquish your Novelty.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 104. *Pelagianisme is a thing, that you are not agreed among your selves of the true nature of. Many of the Dominicans and Jansenists think the Jesuites Pelagianize, or Semi-Pelagianize at least. I hope you will not shut them out. Donatists were Schismaticks, because they divided in the Catholick Church, and not absolutely from it: and because they divided from the particular Churches about them, that held the most universal external Communion. I think, they were still members of the universal Church; but I'll not contend with any, that will plead for his uncharitable denial. It's nothing to our Case.*

William Johnson.

Num. 104. You fall again into a plain Fallacy, proceeding *à parte ad totum*. The doubt which is among
some

Some of our Divines is only about part of their Heresie, and you would make your Reader believe, it were about the whole. Some points of their Heresie are clearly agreed upon by all Catholick Authors; as is that of the denial of original Sin, That Infants which dye without Baptisme, are not in the state of Salvation, &c. Now these are enough to make them Hereticks, and out of the Church, whatsoever is of the rest of their Heresie: which howsoever some dispute now, wherein it consisteth, yet when they were first condemned, there was no dispute about it. But here's another grand Novelty of yours to be considered. Who ever yet, before you, said, that Catholick Church could be divided *in it self*, when it is a most perfect unity. See, what the Fathers say of this point: why is it called *una Ecclesia Catholica* (one Catholick Church) in the *Nicene Creed*, if it can be divided: and then you adde another Novelty, as the former. For who, but you, ever said, the *Donatists* were not divided absolutely from the Church? does not *S. Aug. lib. de Baptismo, contra Donatistas*, say, they separated and divided from the Church, a hundred times over? But more of this hereafter.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 105. *I know that Heresie is a personal Crime, and cannot be charged on Nations, unless you have Evidence, that the Nations consent to it, which here you have none.*

William Johnson.

Num. 105. I have your own Author for it, an approved Historian amongst you, there is no Authority alledged

by you, which contradicts his Testimony, or clears them from *Eutychianisme*, why therefore seek you evidence against what you are not able to disprove? But for your farther satisfaction; first, it is certain in the year One thousand, one hundred, seventy and seven, the *Abyssines* or *Ethiopians* under *Prester John* desired Doctours to be sent to them from Pope *Alexander* the third to Instruct them in the *Roman* Faith, from which they differed at that time. The Pope write to their King and high Bishop, that he desired nothing more then to gratifie them in their Request; intreating them to send their doubts, and requests in particular to *Rome*: Now that these differences from the *Roman* Church, in part at least, were the Heresie of *Eutyches*, is Evident from the Canon of their Mass, wherein they commemorate three or four times the Fathers of the three first general Councils, but never make mention of those in the fourth, that is, the Council of *Chalcedon*; whereof no other probable reason can be given, save their adhering to the Heresie of *Eutyches*, which was condemned in that Council; so that there needs no farther Testimony against them, seeing they condemn themselves of *Eutychianisme*.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 106. *Some are Hereticks for denying Points essential to Christianity; these are not Christians, and so not in the Church: but many also are called Hereticks by you, and by the Fathers for lesser Errours consistent with Christianity; and these may be in the Church. Abyssines and all the rest have not been yet tryed, and convicted before any competent Iudge, and Slanderers we regard not.*

Wil-

William Johnson.

Num. 106. This is already answered, all Hereticks deny the veracity of Christ, which is Essential to Christ and Christianity, whatsoever their Heresies be, the *Abyssinians* confess themselves to follow (as I have proved) *Eutyches* and *Dioscorus*, and therefore need neither trial, nor conviction.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 107. Many of your own Writers acquit them of Heresy, and say, † the difference is now found to be but in words, or little more. † Non-proof 13.

William Johnson.

Num. 107. Name those Writers, and you shall be answered; think you that any rational man will be convinced by your bare affirmation?

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 108. What you say of their disclaiming us, unless we take the Patriarch of Constantinople for the vice-Christ; you many ways mistake, 1. if this were true that they rejected us; it were not proof that we are not of one universal Church.

William Johnson.

Num. 108. But sure I mistake not in saying they disclaim you, if it be supposed true (as you suppose now) they

they doe disclaim you ; and I think, impartial men will take it to be a proof , for if both the whole Westerne Church with the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Easterne with the Bishop of *Constantinople* , each claiming the Sovereignty of visible Government over the whole Church of Christ, reject you as Hereticks : and no other Church existent in the world , *anno Dom.* 1500. (Immediately before your first visible opposition against the *Roman Church*) own you (as you have not proved, nor can you ever prove, they doe) but upon the same , Or for some other reasons Reject you , for which the Easterne and Westerne Churches have disclaimed you ; you cannot but confess, you are rejected by the whole Catholick Church of Christ, seeing you were Rejected by all the visible Churches of that time. Now whosoever is rejected as an Heretick by the whole Catholick visible Church, either must be no part of it , or the Catholick Church, must not be able to know, which are, which are not, her true parts, and be fallen into so desperate an Errour , as to reject as out-casts and enemies those who are her true Children. Or what phrenzie would it be in a Novellist, vainly and presumptuously to give himself out for a Member of the Church , when the whole Catholick Church disclaims, and Anathematizes him as an Alien. Now reduce your selves , as *Tertullian* sayes , to your first *origine*, in the year 1500, even in your Principles the visible Catholick Church, was all the Congregations of Christian through the whole world, but all these Congregations disowned you as Aliens, and Separatists from them, when you first began, *an.* 1517. *ergo* the whole Catholick Church disowned you, as Aliens, and Separatists ; *Ergo* you were then either such as the Church esteemed you to be , or the whole Catholick Church was deceived ; but all good Christians will rather believe, that

that you, who were then but a handfull of new-batched Novellists, were deceived in fancying your selves to be parts of the Church, against the censure and judgement of the whole Christian world : then that the whole Christian world should be deceived, and you only in the Right. Nay, that you may have no shadow to shroud your self under, not only the whole Christian world, when you begun, rejected you, as not belonging to their Body ; but you your selves, never so much as pretended then to be parts of any of these Churches, but hated, and abominated them as much as they did you, and condemned them all of Errour, and Superstition, of *Babylonish* captivity, and utter darknesse, of Antichristianisme, and Idolatry, &c. Read your first Writers and you will find it so ; for seeing all the visible Christian Congregations held many of those Points, which your first beginners held to be Idolatrous, and Superstitious in the *Roman* Church, in condemning the *Roman*, and separating from it, upon those pretended Superstitions and Errours, you separated from, and condemned the whole Catholick Church ; nor can you free your self from this, unless you nominate some Church, in those times spread all the Christian world over, which resisted those said Errours, as you did, and joined with you against the *Roman* Church in this opposition.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 109. *They do not claim to be vice Christi, the universal Governours of the Church : the Title of universal Patriarch they extended, but distinction. to the then Roman Empire ; and that not to an universal government, but Primacy.*

William Johnson.

Num. 109. I wonder to hear you say here, the *Greeks* intended the Title of universal Patriarch only to the
the

the Empire, and that not of *Government*, but of *Primacie*; that is, as you mistake that word, precedence in place; when you labour mightily to prove, *Pag.* 154. 155. 156. &c. from *St. Gregorie's* Epistles, that the Title the *Greeks* then pretended to, and *S. Gregory* exclaimed against, was to be Bishop, and to have spiritual Jurisdiction over all Churches, and Christians in the world; either therefore you must grant, that your Argument drawn therefrom *St. Gregorie's* words is fallacious, and of no force; or if it be of force, and well grounded, That then *John of Constantinople*, and with and after him the Patriarchs of that City, pretended to be universal Governours of the whole Church, both *extra-* and *intra-*Imperial, And as to the later Patriarchs of *Constantinople*; seeing there is now no Christian Empire amongst them, and they still retain that former Title of *Universal Patriarch*, you cannot pretend, they inclose their Authorities within the Verge of the Christian Empire. And that you may see what Authority the *Constantinopolitan* Patriarch assumes to himself, and how plaguely he styles himself a *vice-Christ* (quite contrary to your groundlesse Assertion here) *Hieremias* in his Epistle to the *Lutherans* of *Germany*, prefixed before his censure of their Doctrine, saies thus, “ Si enim
 “ volueritis (inquit Scriptura) & audieritis me, bona
 “ terræ comedetis; quibus sane verbis, mediocritas item
 “ nostra, quæ & ipsa, Christi Domini miseratione, succ
 “ cessione quadam, hic in terris, ejus locum tenet ad
 “ amabilem concordiam & consensum cum ea, quæ apud
 “ nos est Jesu Christi Ecclesia, charitatem vestram co-
 “ hortatur. *If you be willing, and shall hear me, saith the*
Scripture, you shall eat the good things of the Land; in
which words, our mediocrity likewise, which by the mer-
cy of Christ our Lord, by a certain succession, here
upon

upon earth, holds his (Christ's) place, *Exhorts you to an amiable concord and charity with that which is with us, the Church of Jesus Christ*; where this Patriarch of *Constantinople Hieronimus*, affirms expressly of himself, that he *holds Christ's place upon earth*, which is to be a *vice-Christ* (as you term it) as much as the Pope esteems himself one; yet sure *Hieronimus* knew what Authoritie he had in Christ's Church; now that you may know undoubtedly, he speaks not of a Church of Christ, which may be affirmed of every particular true Church, but of *the Church of Christ*, that is, the whole Catholick visible Church; he exhorts those *German Lutherans*, to an amiable concord with that Church of Christ which is with him, that is, in the Government whereof he holds the place of Christ, and that this is no other then the whole visible Catholick Church, he declared in the last Paragraph of the eight chapter, saying, *Et, ut confidamus, ubi ei, quæ apud nos est, sancta & Catholica Jesu Christi Ecclesia vobis subiicietur*, &c. And as we confide, when you shall subject your selves to that holy and Catholick Church of Christ which is with us, or belongs to us, which can be meant of no other save the whole visible Church, for he accounts none to be in communion with that Church which is with him, save those, who believe and observe all the Apostolical and Synodical traditions; and all, who believe and observe them; to be of his communion, that is, all orthodox Christians, which is the whole Catholick Church; nor can these words, *quæ apud nos est*, be so understood, as if they denominated only some part of the Catholick Church to be with him, and some other not with him, or against him; for the *Greek* hath *ἡ*, not *ἡ*; as if he had said, the holy Catholick Church existing amongst us, or with us.

Mr. Bax-

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 110. *And for Hieremias his Predecessor, whom you mention, though they disputed with him by letters, (Stephanus Gerlochius, and Martinus Crusus) did not agree in all things with him, yet he still professed his desire of unity and concord with us; and in the beginning of his second Answer, rejoiceth that we agreed with them in so many things.*

William Johnson.

Num. 110. So do we to, and labour to procure that unity with all our forces, but why cast you a mist upon the point in question, by saying he agreed not with them *in all things*, what mean you *by all things*, I had said, the *Greeks* and others, *profess generally all those points of Faith with us against you, wherein you differ from us*, and prove this out of *Hieremias* his Epistle, you answer, that the *Lutherans* did not agree *in all things* with *Hieremias*; what *all things* mean you? those, wherein you and we differ, why then have you not designed some at least of those points in difference betwixt us, wherein they agree with you against us? if you mean, they agreed not *in all things*, that is; in some wherein we and you agree, they agreed also with you, & us, that's true, but is no Answer at all to my Assertion; for I meddle not with those: but disagreed they with you in the points controverted betwixt us? that's true too, but it is a confirmation of my Assertion. But you artificially, to dissemble what you could not answer, serve your self only of a general terme, whereby the Reader may remain still unsatisfied, whether they agree with you
or

or us, in the Points under controversie betwixt us. Tell us therefore, (and I beseech you fail not to do it) whether my Assertion be true or no in this point, when you Reply to it, and whether my Allegations prove it not; that is, whether the modern *Greeks* agree with the *Roman* Church in all points now controverted betwixt us and you, (except that of the Popes supremacie,) and whether *Hieremias* the Patriarch, assume not to himself, as true a supreme authority over the whole Church, as does the Pope.

Mr. Baxter,

Num. 111. *Johannes Zygomas* in his letters to *Crispius*, 1576. May 15. saith, *Perspicuum tibi & omnibus futurum est, quod in continuis & causam fidei praeipue continentibus articulis consentiamus: quae autem videntur consensum inter vos & nos Impedire, talia sunt, si velit quis, ut facile ea corrigere possit. Gaudium in caelo & super terram erit, si coibit in unitatem utraque Ecclesia, & Idem sentiemus, & simul vivemus in omni concordia & pace secundum Deum, & in sincera Charitatis vinculo.*

William Johnson.

Num. 111. To what purpose are these words cited, cannot any of the *Roman* Church write the very same now to *Lutherans*? But does not *Zygomas* suppose, that the Protestants and they, are two Churches; that they were not then united into one; saies he not? that he hopes for such a Future Unity, *Gaudium in caelo, & supra terram erit, si coibit in unitatem utraque Ecclesia, &c.* Ergo that unity was not then actually made,
and

and that unity depended on the correction of those differences in Faith which were betwixt them, which whilst they remained, obstructed it; now this is wholly destructive of your Novelty; nay this Agreement, and becoming one and the same Church as Synonimaes, (*coabit in unitatem utraque Ecclesia, et Idem sentiemus*; both Churches, the *Greeks* and *Lutherans* shall join in unitie, and we shall hold, that is believe, the same thing) evinces that their disagreement, was inconsistent with their being one Church: nay besides Faith he requires a future charity and concord, which argues, it was then wanting, *Et simul vivemus in omni concordia & pace secundum Deum, & in sincera charitatis vinculo*; and “(sayes he) we shall live together in all concord & peace “in God, and in the bond of sincere Charity: so that this very Text which you quote, to prove the unity betwixt *Greeks* and *Lutherans*, proves the quite contrary, so choice are you in your Citations!

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 112. But as it is not the Patriarch, that is the whole Greek Church: so is it not their Errors, in some lesser or tolerable points, that prove us of two Churches or Religions.

William Johnson.

Num. 112. Who saies, he is the whole Church? yet sure when the Patriarch writes concerning his own Jurisdiction, he is supposed to understand the extent of it; and when those of his Church shew no kind of contradiction against it, neither when he writ this, nor ever since (and thereby give a tacite consent to it) what he

he writes is to be esteemed as the tenet of his Church: I am much joyed to hear you terme the differences in Faith betwixt you and the *Grecians*, *some lesser or tolerable points*; for they being in substance the very same with those betwixt you and us (as the Authors confesse cited by me, pag. 46. of your Edition) you must consequently acknowledge the differences betwixt you and us, *to be some lesser or tolerable points*: but give me leave then to tell you, that as you judge those points tolerable, so must you also judge your separation from the external communion of the *Greek*, and *Roman Church* intolerable; for if those parts in difference be tolerable, they were to have been tolerated by you, without proceeding to an open and scandalous Schisme by reason of them; nor will it excuse you to alledge, you were forc't to separate, in detestation of those things which you judged Errors; otherwise you would have compell'd us by punishments to have assented to them: for you were rather to have suffered patiently that force, though it had been to death it self, then to have made so notorious a Schisme, for tolerable Errors or fear of persecution. I have already shewed that every Error in Faith, against a divine truth sufficiently proposed, separates the erring partie from the true visible Church of Christ,

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 113. *Whereas you say, it is against all antiquity and Christianity, to admit condemned Hereticks into the Church: I Reply. 1. I hate their condemnation rather then reverence it, that (even being non Judices) dare condemn whole Nations, without hearing one man of them speak for himself, or hearing one witnesse that ever heard them defend Heresie, and this merely because*

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some few Bishops have in the dayes of old maintained Heresie, and perhaps some may doe so still, or rather differ from you in words, while you misunderstand each other. I see, you have a sharp tooth against Bishops, why name you them onely as maintainers of Heresies? how many Bishops found you broaching or spreading heresie in the 2. first hundred yeares, was either Simon Magus, or Nicolaus, or Cerinthus, or Menander, or Valentinian, or Manes, or Montanus, Bishops? and in the third Age, was there not Arius, and Eutyches, neither of them Bishops, broachers of two most pernicious Heresies, as well, as Nestorius, and Dioscorus, who were Bishops.

William Johnson.

Num. 113. You mistake the manner of the Churches condemnation of Hereticks, it is neither personal nor National (save in some notorious Arch-Hereticks, who either by their words, or writings, evidently professe or teach Heresie) but general or abstractive, *viz. whosoever holds such, or such Errours let him be accursed, or we excommunicate all such as hold them, &c.* where there can be no wrong done to any; for those, who *de facto* held them not, are not cast out of the Church; now when this sentence comes to Execution, those who either acknowledge themselves to hold those Heresies, or communicate with them who professe it, are esteemed as Hereticks; because they join with an heretical party, against the Church; and in case they profess to disbelieve their heresie, and yet live in communion with them, and subjection to them, they become open Schismatics, separating themselves from the whole visible Church by communicating with Hereticks.

Mr. Bax.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 114. Did I find such *Errours* with them as with you, yet first I durst charge them on no one man that I had not reason to hold guilty of them; I dare not accuse whole Nations of your *Errours*; but of all these things (and of sundry words which you cite) I have spoken already in two books, and in the latter fully proved that you differ in many points of Faith, and greater things than you call *Heresies* in others, among your selves, even your *Pope's Saints and Councils*; and yet neither part is judged by you to be out of the Church: see my *Key*, pag. 124, 125, 127, 128, 129. and pag. 52. ad 62.

William Johnson.

Num. 114. You or any Christian, may safely judge those Hereticks, who publickly communicate, and side with those, who profess, and teach open heresie; for the very siding with them, Argues a consent to their Doctrine, and is a sufficient profession of it, unlesse they profess publickly a difference from their heresie; your recrimination, is unseasonable; the question is not for the present, wherein or how *We* differ; but whether *You* be guiltie of heresie or no, our innocencie or guiltiness clears not you; clear your Selves first, and then you will have gained credit to accuse us: 'till that be done, you do nothing but divert the Question, y removing it from your selves to us. In your *Key*, pag. 128. you tittle in using the words, *Material point*, Equivocally, and proceeding *a specie, ad genus* fallaciously. Mr. *Turberville*, speaks of *material Points*, against your 39. Articles, saying, for if they differ from them in any material

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point,

point, &c. and you make him speak of all kinds of material points in Religion, whether contrary to any Article, or Ecclesiastical decree of Faith, or no.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 115. When you say so much to prove the Greeks guiltie of manifest heresy, and pretend that it is but some novel Writers of ours that deny it, as forced by your Arguments, I must say, that you prove but your own uncharitableness instead of their heresy; and you shew your self a stranger to your own Writers, who frequently excuse the Greeks from heresy, and say the difference at the Council of Florence was found to be more about Words, then Faith; Thomas à Jesu, de Convers. omn. Gentium, lib. 6. cap. 8. pag. 281. saith, "His tamen non obstantibus alii opinantur Græcos tantum esse Schismaticos: Ita ex junioribus docet Pater Azorius, 1. prima Institut. moral. lib. 8. cap. 20. quest. 10. Quare merito ab Ecclesia Catholica non hæretici, sed Schismatici censentur & appellantur; ita aperte insinuat D. Bernardus (no novel Protestant) in Epist. ad Eugenium, lib. 3. (ego addo, inquit) de pertinacia Græcorum qui nobiscum sunt & non sunt; Juncti fide, pace divisi; quanquam & in fide ipsa claudicaverint à rectis semitis. Idem aperte tenet D. Thom. Opusc. 2. ubi docet Patres Græcos in Catholico sensu esse exponendos; Ratio hujus opinionis est, quoniam ut prædictus Author docet, in prædictis Fidei Articulis, de quibus Græci accusantur ab aliquibus ut hæretici, potius nomine quam re ab Ecclesia Romana dissident; Imprimis inficiantur illi Spiritum Sanctum à Patre Filioque procedere, ut in Bulla unionis Eugenii 4. dicitur, Existimantes, Latinos sentire à Patre Filioque procedere

*"cedere tanquam à duobus principiis, cum tamen Latina
 doceat Ecclesia procedere à duabus personis tanquã ab u-
 no principio & spiratore, quare Græci ut unum principium
 significant, dicunt Spiritum sanctum à Patre per Filium proce-
 dere ab omni aternitate : Tour. Paulus Veridicus
 (Paul Harris) Dean of your Academy lately in Dublin,
 in his confutation of Bishop Usher's Sermon, saith, that
 the Greeks Doctrine about the procession of the holy
 Ghost à Patre per Filium, and not à Patre, Filioque, was
 such that (when they had explicated it, they were found
 to believe very Orthodoxly and Catholickly in the same
 matter, and for such were admitted) and that (he find-
 eth not any substantial Point that they differ from you
 in; but the Primacy :) so the Armenians were received
 in the same Council of Florence) many more I have
 read, of your own Writers, that all vindicate the Greeks,
 (and others that disown you) from heresie, I think more
 then I have read of Protestants that do it : And do you
 think now that it is not a disgrace to your cause, that a
 man of your Learning, and one that I hear that hath
 the confidence to draw others to your opinions, should yet
 be so unacquainted with the opinions of your own Di-
 vines, and upon this mistake so confidently feign, that it is
 our novel Writers forced to it by your Arguments, that
 have been so charitable to these Churches against Anti-
 quity that knew better.*

William Johnson.

Num. 115. I should have reason to take it something
 ill from you, to accuse me at once both of uncharitable-
 nesse, and ignorance, and that upon a more mistake of
 your own; but I am resolv'd, not to take any thing you
 say against Me in ill part, but rather to pity and com-
 miserate you, as I really do; you could not but see I
 speak of that Errour in the holy Ghost's procession, which

of late yeares has been pertinaciously defended by the Schismatical *Greeks*, not of the expressions of the more ancient Fathers and Doctours amongst them, you need not have told me, for I was not so ignorant, that those which *S. Bernard* and *S. Thomas* speaks of differ'd rather in Expressions, then in the thing it self; the Question is, whether the modern *Greeks*, and those who have held with them; and particularly since the Council of *Florence*, concerning the point of the holy Ghost's proceeding from the Father and not from the Son, differ not in the thing it self; I speak of these onely, for my words clearly design what is now done, pag. 47. in your Edit. I say, they must be thought to maintain manifest heresie, and p. 4. *Desertours of the Faith, as they continue still to this day*; now I marvel to see this distinction of times unknown to you, when our Authors, and particularly, *S. Bonaventure* took notice of it in his time; and as there it is, that *S. Bernard* distinguishes betwixt them in his time, for he sayes expressly, *in Fide claudicaverint*, which signifies, that at least some of them were even then deficient in Faith; & *S. Thomas* writes expressly of the ancient *Greek* Fathers, *Patres Græcos in Catholico sensu esse exponendos*; *Harris* also (as you call him) speaks of the same ancient *Grecians*; if therefore you will convince me either of uncharitableness, or ignorance, shew that our Authors affirme, the modern *Greeks*, and all those who held as they now do, erre not in Faith, or in the thing believed about the procession of the holy Ghost (but differ onely in words, or terms) as you held they do not: & I said, and still maintain, they do: and not the ancient Fathers amongst the *Greeks*, of whome I speak not one word, because I knew very well our Authors have ever taught and still do affirm, that those Fathers say the same thing

is re with us. But you shall see more of this in some other work, which expects the Press, and wherein this point, was thoroughly examined, long before I writ that reply to you.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 116. *If the Greeks and Latines tear the Church of Christ by their condemnations of each other, they may be both Schismatical, as guilty of making divisions in the Church, though not as dividing from the Church; and if they pretend the denial of the Christian Faith against each other, as the cause, you shall not draw us into the guilt of the uncharitableness, by telling us that they know better then we. If wise men fall out and fight, I will not justifie either side, because they are wise, and therefore likelier then I to know the cause.*

William Johnson.

Num. 116. I told you before, the Church of Christ cannot be divided, it is so perfectly one; It were well, if you medled not at all with the difference betwixt them, but you do meddle; and contrary to both their judgements, you and yours affirm, they differ not now in matter of Faith concerning this Mysterie, and thereby prefer you Novel Judgements before that of so large, ancient, and Learned Churches, whom you confess here have more reason to know the true difference betwixt them, then your self. Do you not intermeddle deeply in it, when in the next ensuing words, you labour mainly to prove they differ onely in words.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 117. *But what need we more to open your strange mistake, and unjust dealing, then the Authority of your so much approved Council of Florence, that*

received both Greeks and Armenians; and the very words of the Popes Bull of the Union, which declare that the Greeks and Latines were found to mean Orthodoxly both; the words are these, *Convenientes Latini & Græci in hac sacrosancta œumenica Synodo, magno studio invicem nisi sunt, ut inter alia, articulus etiam ille de divina Spiritus sancti processione, summa cum diligentia, & assidua inquisitione discuteretur; Prolatus vero testimoniis ex divinis Scripturis, plurimisque auctoritatibus sanctorum doctorum orientalium & occidentalium, aliquibus quidem ex Patre & Filio; quibusdam vero ex Patre per Filium procedere dicentibus, Spiritum sanctum, & ad eandem Intelligentiam aspicientibus omnibus sub diversis vocabulis; Græci quidem asseruerunt, quod id, quod dicunt Spiritum sanctum ex Patre procedere, non hac mente proferrent ut excludant Filium, sed quia eis videbatur, ut aiunt, Latinos asserere Spiritum sanctum ex Patre Filioque procedere, tanquam ex duobus principiis, & duabus spirationibus; ideo abstinuerunt à dicendo quod Spiritus sanctus ex Patre procedat & Filio; Latini vero assermaverunt non se hac mente dicere Spiritum sanctum ex Filioque procedere, ut excludant Patrem quin sit fons ac principium totius Deitatis, Filii scilicet & Spiritus sancti: aut quod id, quod Spiritus sanctus procedat ex Filio, Filius à Patre non habeat, sive quod duo ponant esse principia, seu duas spirationes, sed ut unum tantum asserunt esse principium unicamque spirationem Spiritus sancti prout hactenus asseruerunt, & tum ex his omnibus unus & idem eliciatur veritatis sensus, tandem &c.*

I pray you now tell it to no more, That it is some Novel Writers of ours, prest by force of Arguments, that have been the Authours of this Excommunication. My heart even trembleth to think, that there should be a thing

thing called Religion amongst you that can so far extinguish both Charity and Humanity, as to cause you to pass so direfull a doome (without authority or tryal) on so great a part of the Christian world, for such a word as this about so exceeding high a Myserie, when your Pope & Council have pronounced an union of meanings.

Williams Johnson.

Num. 117. It is a pretty kind of art you have, of Triumphing before the Victory, and collecting a Conclusion without Premisses: 'Tis true, the *Greeks* did not intend to exclude the Son from the procession of the holy Ghost; for they admitted him as a *medium*, through which he proceeds from the Father, as water issues from the fountain through the Conduit-pipe; but yet they wholly denied, he proceeded from the Son, as from a principle of his procession, and their reason was, because then (said they) there would be a double procession of the holy Ghost, as from two principles, the Father and the Son; and this they thought so evident, that it could not be denied, and thereupon supposed the *Latines* put a double procession, and a double principle; now when it was made manifest to them by the Authorities of the ancient Fathers (as the Council here affirms) that he proceeded from the Father and the Son as from one principle: so that those Fathers who affirm that he *proceeds from the Father by or through the Son*, say the very same thing with the others, who say, *he proceeds from the Father and the Son*; they were content, to recall their former Errour, and to hold with the *Latines*, that he proceeded from both as from one Principle, by one indivisible procession, or spiration; whence followed the union betwixt those two Churches. Now that the

the *Greeks* before and after the Council, when they were returned home, thought it impossible they should proceed from both as from one Principle, is evident both from the long craggy disputes betwixt them in the Council, and from *Mark* Bishop of *Ephesus*, who obstinately defended the common Opinion of the *Greeks*, and would never yield to the union in this point; and it appears also from the *Grecians* themselves, who after their Return relapsed into their former Errour; and from *Hieremias* his Censure, C. 1. who excludes the Son in expresse terms, *Spiritum sanctum ex solo Patre procedere*, that the holy Ghost proceeds from the Father alone; and from all the other *Greeks* who reject at this day the Union made in the *Florentine* Council, and maintaine their former errour against it. Now your Argument has this force with it: the *Grecians* who recanted their Errour in the Council of *Florence*, convinc'd by the Authoritie of the holy Fathers, agreed with the *Roman* Church, that the holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son, or from the Father through the Son, as from one Principle of Procession; *Ergo Marcus Ephesus*, who refused that Agreement, and the modern *Greeks* ever since that Council who reject it, and the others before the Council, who contradicted it, held the very same Doctrine with the *Latines*, that he proceeded from the Father and the Son as from one Principle; whereas they most manifestly denied, that he could so proceed, and all of them deny it to this day: see you not your fallacie, how it proceeds *à parte ad totum*, and *à particulari ad universale*? that is, from that partie of the *Grecians* who consented to the *Florentine* Council, to the whole bodie of them ever since; and with that, I hope you will see, how illogically you extend the Union in this and other points, to the whole community

munity of the *Greek* Church at this present time, because some few of them assented to it in the *Florentine* Council, whose consent with the *Latines* is now rejected and condemned by the present *Greeks*; and how undeservedly you accuse me of extinguishing both *Charitie* and *Humanitie*, for which I heartily beseech God to forgive you; and desire only, you will please to note, that seeing I speak of the *Grecians* as they are at present, and of those who held as they now do, your testimonies of what they held many hundred years before our times hurt me not, nor so much as approach to contradict what I say; and please to consider this also, that the *Greeks* holding the holy Ghost's proceeding from the Father and the Son, argu'd a double principle, and a double spiration; as it was a real difference betwixt them and the *Latines* before the Union, so is it yet a real difference betwixt the *Latines* & those *Greeks* who reject that Union, and that of so great concern, that the present *Grecians* chuse rather to denie he proceeds from the Son, as from a Principle, then grant, that he can proceed from both, as from one principle, or by one spiration from them both.

Mr. Baxter.

NUM. 118. *And what mean you in your Margent to refer me to Nilus, as if he asserted, that the Greeks left the Communion of the Roman Church upon that difference alone; verily (Sir) in the high matters of God this dealing is scarce faire (pardon this plainness;) consider of it your self, The substance of Nilus book, is about the Primacie of the Pope; the very Contents prefixed to the first book are these, Oratio demonstrans non aliam, &c. an Oration demonstrating that there is no other*

other cause of dissention between the Latine and the
 Greek Churches, then that the Pope refuseth to defer
 the Cognisance and Judgement of that which is Contro-
 verted, to a General Council, but he will sit the sole
 Master, and Judge of the Controversie, and will have
 the rest as Disciples to be hearers of (or obey) his word,
 which is a thing aliene from the Lawes and Actions of
 the Apostles and Fathers; and he begins his Book (af-
 ter a few words) thus, "Causa itaque hujus dissidii, Rec.
 "The Cause therefore of this difference, as I judge, is
 "not the sublimity of the point exceeding man's capaci-
 "tie; for other matters that have divers times troubled
 "the Church, have been of the same kind; this there-
 "fore is not the cause of the dissention, much lesse is the
 "speech of the Scripture it self; which as being concise,
 "doth pronounce nothing openly of that which is Con-
 "troverted; for to accuse the Scripture, is as much as to
 "accuse God himself. But God is without all fault; but
 "who the fault is in, any one may easily tell, that is well
 "in his wits. He next shews, that it is not for want of
 learned men on both sides; nor is it because the Greeks
 do claim the Primacy, and then concludeth it as before,
 he maintaineth that your Pope succeedeth Peter onely
 as a Bishop ordained by him, as many other Bishops that
 originally were ordained by him in like manner to suc-
 ceed him, and that his Primacy is no governing power,
 nor given him by Peter, but by Princes and Councils for
 order sake; and this he proves at large, and makes this
 the main difference. Bellarmine's answering his so many
 Arguments, might have told you this, if you had never
 read Nilus himself; and if you say that this point was
 the Cause, I deny it; but if it were true, yet was it not
 the onely or chief Cause afterwards; The manner of
 bringing in the (Filioque) by Papal Authority without a
 general

general Council, was it, that greatly offended the Greeks from the beginning.

William Johnson.

Num. 118. This is a strange manner of Arguing; what if his chief subject be about the Popes Primacy, may he not *ex incidents* and *occasionaliter*, treat other matters? Is not your chief matter in this Treatise to prove the succession of your Church, and oppose ours; and yet treat you not in this very place incidentally the procession of the holy Ghost? I say then that *Nilus* declaring the cause why the Bishop of Rome hath lost all that Primacy, and Authority which he had anciently, by reason he is fallen from the Faith, in adding *Filioque* to the Creed, and teaching that the holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son; the words you cite out of *Nilus*, proves nothing, he pretends indeed that the cause of the present dissention is the Popes challenging so high a Primacy, which they are unwilling (as all schismaticks ever were) to grant him, but that may well stand with what I affirm him to say, that the first original cause of the breach betwixt the *Greeks* and *Latines*, was the adding of *Filioque*, and holding the holy Ghost's procession from the Father and the Son: But see you not how fair a thread you have spun, by pressing those words, as you do, against me? is there indeed no other cause of dissention betwixt the *Greek* and *Latine* Church; nor ground of their breach, save the Popes supremacy? then sure there is a full agreement in all other things; if so, there is a main disagreeing betwixt you and the *Greeks*, in all other points of Faith controverted betwixt you and us; for if they agree with us, they disagree from you in every one of them; nay
you

you press *Nisus* his words (in that sense you must take them to frame an Argument against me) quite against the very words themselves; for you alledge them to shew, that he touches not the proceſſion of the holy Ghost in that Book, as the first ground of their difference; to prove this you must proceed thus, he treats nothing there save the Pope's Supremacie, *ergo* he touches not the holy Ghost's proceſſion; you prove the Antecedent by the words of the Title of his first book here cited, because he affirms in them, there is no other cause of dissention, then that the Pope refuses to stand to the judgement of a general Council; as if that onely were controverted betwixt them, for otherwise you prove nothing: Now it is most evident that *Nisus* supposes many other Controversies betwixt them and the *Latines*; for he saies (even as you cite him) thus, *then that the Pope refuseth to defer the Cognisance and Judgement of that which is Controverted to a general Council*; *Ergo* you must acknowledge, that according to *Nisus*, there was something controverted betwixt the *Greeks* and the *Latines*, besides the Pope's Supremacie; and after you bring him in pag. 124. mentioning this very point of the proceſſion, when you alledge him thus, *the cause therefore of this difference, as I judge, is not the sublimity of the point exceeding man's capacity*, where he speaks of the holy Ghost's proceſſion, as I affirm him to doe; thus you play fast and loose, say and unsay at your pleasure; thus you confound times, and by not distinguishing the *past*, (as before you did not the future) from the present, make that, which is now onely pretended by *Nisus*, to be the chief cause of their not coming to Agreement, to have been many hundred yeares agoe, the original cause of their breach, and opposition against the *Latines*; whereby you con-

found

found the first occasion of the breach, and the present obstacle to the making it up, and reconciling them together, as if they were one, and the same thing; Now it is most manifest that the first occasion of the breach made by the *Greeks* from the *Latine* Church, was the Exception they took against the *Latines*, for adding the word *Filioque*, and *from the Son*, to the *Nicene* Creed; for *Michael* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, anno 1054, in time of *Leo* the 9. Pope, and *Constantine* the 10. Emperour, styled *Monomachos*, aspiring not onely in name and Title, as many of his predecessors had done before him, but in reality and effect to be universal Patriarch, proclaimed *Leo*, and all the *Latines* who adhered to him to be Excommunicated, because contrary to the decree of the *Ephesine* Council, they had made an Addition to the Creed; so that the *Roman* Bishop being pretended by the *Greeks* to be thereby deposed from his See, The Primacie of the Church fell by Course, and right upon him, as being the next Patriarch, after the Bishop of *Rome*, which gave occasion to *Nilus* of acknowledging that Controversie about the procession of the holy Ghost, to have been the first occasion of the breach.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 119. But you say that when I have made the best of those *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Ethiopians*, *Protestants*; I cannot deduce them successively in all Ages till *Christ*, as a different Congregation of *Christians* from that which holds the *Pope's* Supremacie, which was your Proposition. Reply, I have oft told you we owe no universal Informing Head, but *Christ*, in Respect to him I have proved to you, that it is not my Interest or designe

to prove us or them, (a different Congregation from you as you are Christians) nor shall you tempt me to be so uncharitable, as to damn, or unchristen all Papists, as far as you do others, incomparably safer and better than your selves.

William Johnson.

Num. 119. This is answered above, no Heretick ever professed to separate from the Church, as it is Christian; for in so doing he must profess himself to be no Christian, which no Heretick ever did yet; for by professing himself no Christian, he falls into the sin of Apostacie, and becomes not an Heretick, but an Apostate.

Mr. Baxter.

But as you are Papal, and set up a new informing Head. I have proved that you differ from all the ancient Churches, but yet that my Cause requires me not to make this proof, but to call you to prove your own universal succession.

William Johnson.

I have shewed above there must be alwayes some who Exercise visible Government, as ordinary Governours of the whole Church, and seeing a general Council is not the ordinary way of Governing the Church, there must be some one who is supreme in visible Government over the whole Church, this I affirm to be the Bishop of Rome, and seeing there must be some one, and you confesse the Roman Bishop to be the

the highest in place; and honour, me thinks, even in your principles, he has a stronger claim to be supream in authority also, then any one singular person through the Church; now if we set up the Pope as a new informing head over the whole Church (as you say we do) I should be much obliged, if you would please to nominate the first Pope whom we set up as such a head, who they were that set him up, and who withstood it as a noveltie; you cannot in your principles alleadge *Boniface* the third, for the having his title, as you pretend from *Phocas*, and *Phocas* having no power out of the Empire, could not give him any authority over the extra-imperial Pormies (no not so much as precedence in place over all the extra-imperial Bishops, for what reasons had they to conform themselves to the Emperours orders, who had no authority over them) and consequently not over the whole Church, nor was the Emperour so foolish, to give more then he had power to give; now that Popes before *Boniface's* time had jurisdiction over the whole Empire, you are forc't to acknowledge divers times in your reply, not being able otherwise to resolve my arguments: *Phocas* therefore neither made nor could make *Boniface* head over the whole Church, nor was he the first who set him up over all the Churches within the Empire. oblige me therefore in nominating to me the first head so set up in your rejoinder to this: I have no obligation to prove my succession, my argument presses you to the proof, who though you made a bold essay to produce one Congregation of Christians perpetually visible, either denying and opposing the Popes universal supremacy or at least of such a nature in Church government as rendered it inconsistent with it, and in this your present reply p. 92. you undertake the proof of such a visible

Congregation distinct in all ages from that which held the said supremacy, yet being told by your adversary that none of the particular Congregations instanced and nominated by you in your former answer were perpetually visible as distinct from that which held the Popes supremacy, in those two paragraphs you recoil and manifestly give up your cause, as not being able to perform, what you first undertooke.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 120. *You adde your reason, because these before named were at first involved in your Congregations, and then fell off as dead branches. Reply, this is but an untruth in a most publique matter of fact.*

William Johnson.

Num. 120. This is your bare affirmation without proof, you nominate p. 23 your edit. the *Armenians Greeks, Ethiopians, Indians, Protestants* and no more. Now it is evident, by what I have said above, that the first Protestants, before their change were of that Congregation which held the Popes supremacy, the *Armenians*, and *Greeks* consented to it in the council of *Florence*, the *Ethiopians* and *Indians* I have proved to have reconciled themselves to the Bishop of *Rome*, since he publickely exercised, and claimed the said supremacy, ergo no one of those nominated by you, no nor all together have been a perpetually visible Congregation, distinct from that which held the Popes supremacy.

Mr. Baxter.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 121. *All the truth is this, 1. those Indians Ethiopians Persians &c. without the Empire, never fell from you, as to subjection, as never being your subjects, prove that they were and you have done a greater wonder then Batonijs in all his annals.*

William Johnson.

Num. 121. I have proved it, out of the *Arabick* edition of the nicene canons, and from that very text of the council of *Calcedon* cap. 28 &c. which you use against us.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 122. *The Greeks and all the rest within the Empire, without the Roman Patriarchate, are fallen from your communion (if renouncing it be a fall) but not from your subjection having given you but a primacy, as Nilus shows, and not a governing power over them.*

William Johnson.

Num. 123. You your self in the insuing replies, acknowledg a governing power over the Churches through the whole Empire, and consequently over *Constantinople*, nay, you cannot deny the fact of *Agapbe* over *Anthymus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, nor of *Celestin* over *Nestarius* &c. you are therefore as much obliged to answer *Nilus* his argument, as I am said *Bell*

hath saved us both a labour of answering him. 'tis true according to what you say of being *subject*, the *Greeks* hold now a subjection to the Pope; and sure if they professe subjection to him, they must professe themselves to be his subjects, now according to you, subjection may signifie no more then to be inferiour to another in place, and every subject has a superiour to whom he is subject, *ergo* they professe the Pope to be their superiour; which gives him even in your principles at least a precedency before them but *Nilus*, never granted they were in any proper sense *subject* to the Pope, but only inferiour in place to him, seeing therefore *S. Gregory* (as we shall see hereafter) declares the Bishops of *Constantinople* and all other Bishops in the Church to be subject to him, and his sea, and the *Greeks* now acknowledge no subjection to him, it is manifest, they are not only fallen from communion with him, but also from their subjection to him, for no man in proper speech can say that the Mayor of *York* professes subjection to the Mayor of *London*, because he acknowledges he is to take place of him in a publique meeting, nay by this meanes your Church of *England*, and Bishop of *Canterbury* giving primacy to the Pope, as much as the *Greeks* do, that is in precedency of place only, may & must be said according to you, not to have fallen from the subjection to the Roman Church which I believe will sound harsh in their ears.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 123. *The withering therefore was in the Roman branches if the corruptions of either part may be called a withering, you that are a lesser part of the Church may easily call your selves the tree, and the greater*

*greater part (two to one) the branches, but these beggings
do but proclaim your necessities.*

William Johnson.

Num. 123. If the Roman Church have withered in this point, shew me when it begun to wither, in setting up the Pope as supreme, and (as I now told you) you will really oblige me; Is it not strange to hear you term my argument a begging the question, when you in the very same sentence, beg the question your self, for without any proof at all, you suppose there, (what is universally deny'd by us) that your selves, and almost all the rest of Hereticks, and Schismatics now in the world, are parts of the Catholicke Church; for without inclusion of them, you could not affirm with any appearance of probability, those who oppose the Roman Church, to be twice as great a part of the Catholick Church, as are those that adhere to the Roman.



The Second part.

CHAP. I.

ARGUMENT.

Johannes Thalaïda and Flavianus.

NUM 124. *The interest of producing the insuing instances misreported by Mr. Baxter, whereupon he imposes a false obligation upon his adversarie almost in every page. the appeale of Iohn Thalaïda, patriarch of Alexandria, to Pope Felix, defended. Thalaïdas age, according to Mr. Baxters account. what kind of persons Zeno, Acacius, Petrus Mogas, Petrus Fullonis, Thalaïda, and Calendion were. Num. 125. No Authors of those ages reprehend Simplicius, or Felix, in condemning Acacius, and justifying Thalaïda. Num. 127. Thalaïdas appeale, whether it were a strict & rigorous appeale or no, proves the Popes supremacy. Num. 128. The Popes power exercised over the three cheif Patriarchs of the East. Num. 129. The whole Church allowed pope Felix his*

his deprivation of Acacius &c. Num. 131. &c. It had been ridiculous, if Flavianus patriarch of Constantinople, had appealed from the second Council of Ephesus, which was then esteemed a general Council; the Pope and his provincial Council, (had not the Pope as Pope) had power to reverse the sentence of that Ephesine Council. Num. 137. How farre the second Council of Ephesus was a general Council.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 124. *In good time you come to give me here at last some proof of an ancient Popery, as you think, But first you quite forget, (or worse) that it is not a man or two in the whole world in an Age, but the universal Church whose judgement (and form) we are now inquiring after; you are to prove, that all the Churches in every age were for the Papal universal Government, and so that none can be saved that is not.*

William Johnson.

Num. 124. Sir, please I may tell you, that you would impose upon me, an obligation of proving that which cannot be inferd from the argument I sent you, (as I have shewed above.) so would you now perswade your Reader, by the insueing instances that I undertook to prove what was never undertaken by me. I give indeed some proof of *an ancient Popery*, and I have proved by force of my argument, which you undertake to answer, *that all the Church in every age was for the Papal universal Government.* But I never undertooke in

my treating with you, to prove this by instances from age to age, for this I still denyed (as I yet do) to be any obligation of mine, contracted by virtue of my arguments; which requires your proof only, and meddles not with mine. such a proof as that, from age to age, may in its due time be effected, when you have given a satisfactory answer to my Argument. all therefore, that I undertake here, is occasionally fallen upon me, by reason of your bold Assertion, that within four hundred years, *you never saw valid proof of one Papist in all the world, that is, one that was for the Popes universal monarchy or vice-Chriſt-ſhip*, thus you p. 23. whereupon I took occasion to give you ſome eſſayes in ancienter times, as appears by my words, p. 49. in your edit, where I ſay thus; "*Though therefore you profeſs never to have ſome convincing proof of this in the*" first four hundred years, and labour to infringe it in "*the next ages, I will make an eſſay to give you a taſte*" of thoſe innumerable proofs, of the Biſhops of *Romes* "*ſupremacy, not in order only, but of Power, Autho-*" *rity, and Jurisdiction* over all other Biſhops, in the "*enſuing inſtances within the firſt 400; 500, or*" 600 years, whence it is evident I intended no demonſtration of our perpetual viſibility, but only a confutation of what you pretended within, or about the firſt five hundred years, by ſhewing ſome few inſtances to the contrary. And indeed had I undertaken to prove it in all ages ſince Chriſt, I had moſt groſſly faild in my proof, ſince I produce none after the firſt ſix hundred years, whence appears, how palpably you impoſe upon your Reader, by proceeding upon this falſe ſuppoſition, which you repeat almoſt in every page, in your Answer to my inſtances, that I have not brought the conſent of the whole Church in them; whereas it was ſufficient for my

my intent in confutation of your Assertion, to produce any one solid instance for it, in those ages.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 125. *Your first testimony is from Liberatus, c. 16. John Bishop of Antioch makes an appeal to Pope Simplicius. Reply, I see you are deceived by going upon trust; But its pitty to deceive others, there was no such man as John Bishop of Antioch in Simplicius raigne, John of Antioch was he that made the stirrs and divisions for Nestorius against Cyvil, and called the schismatical council at Ephesus, and dyed anno 436. having raigned thirteene years, as Baronius saith, and eightene as Nicephorus, he dyed in Sixtus the fift's time. but, its said indeed that John Bishop of Alexandria made some addresse to Simplicius; of which Baronius citeth Liberatus words, not, c. 16, but c. 18, ad Anno Dom. 483. that John being expelled by the Emperour Zenos command, went first to Calendion Bishop of Antioch, and so to Rome to Simplicius (if Baronius were to be believed as his indge) Liberatus saith that he took from Calendion Bishop of Antioch letters to Simplicius, to whom he appealed as Athanasius had done, and perswaded him to write for him to Acacius Bishop of Constantinople, which Simplicius did, but Acacius upon the receipt of Simplicius letters, writ flatly to him that he knew no John Bishop of Alexandria, but had taken Petrus Mogas as Bishop of Alexandria into his communion, and that without Simplicius, for the Churches unity at the Emperours command.*

Johnson

William Johnson.

Num. 125. It was indeed *Joannes Thalaida*, chosen Bishop of *Alexandria*, but presently disturbed by *Zeno* the Emperour, through *Acacius* his meanes, and *Petrus Mogas* settled in his place by the Emperours authority, and by *Acacius* Bishop of *Constantinople*: this *Joannes Thalaida* being a Catholick Bishop, appealed as *Liberatus* saith, and you acknowledge, to *Simplicius*; being dead before *John* arrived at *Rome*, Pope *Felix*, his successor received the appeal, and gathered a council upon it, sent Legates, and redargvitory letters, to *Zeno* and *Acacius*: where in his letter to *Zeno*, he exhorted him to send *Acacius* to *Rome* according to the Ecclesiastical lawes and cited *Acacius*, a fauourer of Hereticks, to hasten thither, to defend himself against the depositions of *Joannes Thalaida*, and to answer juridically to the objections made by his accuser, and then to have his cause tryed in judgement, this is the history. By the way I wonder much to hear you say, that *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, dyed in *Sixtus the first's* time, when as all the world knowes this *John* of *Antioch* flourished in the year 1585. surely that *John* must have been a notable old man, of eleven hundred and odd years at least, *Mathuselah* was nothing to him, and which is yet a greater miracle, he must have lived above a thousand years, after he was dead, I should have taken no notice at all of this (for I know you would have said *Sixtus* the third) but only to let you reflect, how carefull you ought to have been in your owne accounts, Names, and Figures, when you are so punctual to note every smal slip in the writings of your adversary: I might also have noted, your error in affirming this *John* of *Antioch* dyed

dyed, *an. 436.* citing *Baronius* for it, whereas *Baronius* as abbreviated by *Spondanus*, sayes expressly he dyed *Anno 440.* But I have no reason to pass in silence your not informing your Reader, what *Zeno*, *Acacius*, *Petrus Mogas*, *Petrus Fullonis*, *John Thalaida*, and *Calendion* were; you say, *Zeno* expelled *John Thalaida*, that *Acacius* disowned him, and acknowledged *Petrus Mogas*, as Bishop of *Alexandria*, and thence inferre how little regard *Acacius* made of our Pope; by which absurdity in writing, your ignorant Reader may well suppose, that *Zeno* was a good Christian Emperour, *Acacius* and *Petrus Mogas* found Catholick Bishops, *John* and *Calendion* turbulent intruders or Schismatics; whereas you could not but know (seeing you profess to read the Authors you quote) that *Zeno*, *Acacius*, *Petrus Mogas*, *Petrus Fullonis*, and their abettors were either Hereticks or first favorites secretly, and after publicly, of the *Eutychian* heresie, and the cheif of them were after by a sentence given of Pope *Felix*, excommunicated and deprived of Episcopal dignitie and jurisdiction, as I have proved above; whereas *John Thalaida* and *Calendion* were most Orthodox and Catholick Bishops, quietly and canonically elected, and installed the one in the see of *Alexandria*, and the other in that of *Antioch*: which had it been declared, (as all open and fair dealing required) it had proved rather a credit then a disadvantage to the Roman see, to have been opposed by such notorious Hereticks and Schismatics as those were; and appealed to, by *Thalaida*, and *Calendion*, Catholick and lawful Bishops.

Mr. Bax-

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 126. *Here you see how little regard Acacius made of your Pope; and that the appeal was but to procure his letters to Acacius which did him no good.*

William Johnson.

Num. 126. I am glad to see how Hereticks, and Favourers of hereticks have still contemned the authority of that Sea, but I see not, that the appeal was only to procure the Popes letters to *Acacius*, for it was also to summon *Acacius* to answer *Johns* accusations against him at *Rome*, and there to trie his cause in judgement with him; now that nothing was effected by this, was only *Acacius* his pertinacy, for which he is condemned by all the Catholick writers of his proceedings in those times, and not one of them blame *Simplicius* or *Felix* as exceeding the limits of their authority, in sentencing and deposing *Acacius* and his adherents, as we have seen he did; produce in your next, those authours who speak against it in their times.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 127. *But do you in good earnest think, that all such addressees or appeales are, ad superiorem judicem, what more common then to appeal or make such addressees to any that have advantages of interest, for the releif of the oppressed, young men appeal to the aged in controversies; and the lesse learned, to the more learned; and the poor to the rich, or to the favorites of such as can relieve them: Johns going first to Antioch was no acknowledgement of Superiority.*

Will: Johnson.

William Johnson.

Num. 127. Yes I think so in very good earnest, and when you shall have fixt your second thoughts upon what pass in this affaire, I doubt not but your own ingenuity will induce you to think so too. 'tis not every appeal made from any tribunal or Judge to another, who hath power to summon the defendant and to pronounce sentence against him, in case of not appearance to defend his cause, a strict and juridical appeal to a higher Court or Tribunal? was not this appeal such? I know when you consider the letters and sentence given by *Felix* against *Acacius*; you neither will, nor can deny it; whence appeares, how far your instances of improper, and nominal appeales are from the present matter. Should a poor Peasant of *Northumberland* being wronged by some inferiour persons, having the Lord Mayor of *London* his friend, appeal to him, and require of him, that he cite those Judges to appear before him, and in case they did refuse to appear, pronounce sentence against them, and deprive them of their offices, lands, and possessions? would it not be highly ridiculous? seeing therefore such a proceeding as this, was held by virtue of this appeal of *John Thalaida*, and no Catholick of those times, ever condemned *Felix* for doing it, nor *John* for requiring it, as is most evident, it was an appeal or complaint (as *Baronius* affirms) to an higher Judge. Now seeing an appeal made from one Judge to another, as all solemn and proper appeales are made, and understood in law, must be from a lower to a higher Judge, and the word appeal (as all other words) must be taken in a proper sense, where nothing constraines us, to take it improperly: it is most manifest that this
 appeal

appeal must be understood to have been made to a higher Judge, then were those who deposed *Thalaida*.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 128. *But of this I must referre you to a full answer of Blondel against Perron, de Primatu in Ecclesia, cap. 25. sect. 76. where you may be satisfied of the vanity of your instance.*

William Johnson.

Num. 128. I could wish you had alleaged *Blondels* reasons, for by thus giving me Authours at every turne, you will oblige me to peruse and answer whole libraries; if *Blondel* have any thing worth taking notice of, you may please to insert it into your rejoinder to this Reply, and it shall be answered. thus much only I am bold to tel you, asforhand, that *Blondel* trifles exceedingly, for whether *Thalaida* were cited by *Acacius* legally or no, which might make the wrong done him rather violence then juridical condemnation, yet seeing *Blondel* confesses injuries done him by *Acacius*, and his adherents, upon pretence of perjury, wherof he was though illegally, judged guilty, and solemnly deposed: it was an appeal properly so-called to reverse that unjust judgement, by virtue of a sentence pronounced by an higher judge, otherwise if an innocent person, should be unjustly condemned in his absence, without either citation or hearing, he could not properly appeal from that sentence to an higher Court; that which *Blondel* alleadges in the second place, is yet more childish, for seeing *Zeno*, *Acacius* and their complices, never treated with *Thalaida* about a joynt consent to chuse *Felix* their

their Arbiter, nay seeing the appeal was made to *Felix* whether they would or no, they refusing to appear in defence of themselves, and make good their accusations against *Thalaida*; it is most manifest that *Felix* was not made Arbiter of the cause by joyn't consent as all Arbiters must be, but had of himself the power of judging both parties. Now though it was admitted, not granted, that the recourse of *Thalaida* to *Simplicius* and *Felix*, was rather a complaint of violence & injury done him by force, then of an unjust juridical sentence pronounced against him, yet my intent will evidently follow from it: or it had been ridiculous in *Thalaida*, to have sought redress from that injury, and a condemnatory sentence against *Acacius &c.* from one who had no power or jurisdiction over them, and it had been a most insufferable injustice, and presumption in *Felix* to have deposed and deprived *Acacius*, had he had no jurisdiction over him, and the rest of his complices. Hence your fallacy consists in this, that you proceed from *secundum quid* to *simpliciter*, that is, from appeales improperly so called, or vulgar appeales, to juridical or proper appeales, whereas you should have given some instance, where an appeal, made from an unjust sentence, to another Judge, who hath power to cite, and condemn those from whom the appeal is made, is not alwayes made to an higher judge: for such was the appeal of *Thalaida* to *Simplicius*, as I have proved.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 129. *Whereas therefore you inferre (or you say nothing) that because this John thus appealed to Rome, therefore he appealed thither, as to the universal Ruler of the Church,*

Johnson.

William Johnson.

Num. 129. The story proves it most manifestly there were but three chief Patriarch's then in the Church, besides the Pope, viz. of *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, now if the Pope had authority to summon, sentence, condemn, excommunicate or deprive *them* of the communion of the faithful, depose, and dis-Bishop them, as *Felix* undeniably did in his sentence, against *Acacius* and his adherents, the intruded Patriarkes of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*; he must have had power and jurisdiction over all the inferiour Church governours, for *qui valet ad majus, valet ad minus*; and to limit this papal power to the Empire, I have shewed it groundlesse, for if the Bishop of *Constantinople* censured here by the Pope, had power over the barbarous, that is extra-imperial Provinces; as I have proved above, why should not the Pope, that had power over him, seeing there is not the least appearance in antiquity, that he had power over the Patriarkes as they were subjects of the Roman Empire, and if there be, shew it.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 130. *The story derideth your consequence; much more, that therefore the universal Church hold the Pope then to be the universal head or Governour.*

William Johnson.

Num. 130. What story? wherein? how derides it my consequence? why, you say it does, and that's enough, this second consequence follows also undeniably for

for seeing these proceedings were notorious to the whole Church, and no Catholick Prelate, or Church, disallowed of them, but all Authours of those times, approve them, that it was either then the unanimous consent of the Church, that the Pope had the power, or there is no meanes left to know by Authentical testimonies what the Church held or held not in those Ages.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 131. *Here is nothing of Government but intreaty, and that but within the Empire, and that but upon the seeking of one distressed man that would be apt to go to those of most interest that might relieve him, and all this rejell'd by Acacius, and the Emperours; a fair proof.*

William Johnson.

Num. 131. Here is nothing but a most supream visible authority in Government, over the three chief Patriarchs of the Church in repealing their sentence, excommunicating, depriving, and deposing them, and consequently, seeing some of them at least had authority over extra-imperial or barbarous provinces (as I have proved) the Pope had government over some who were out of the Empire; yet withall, I minde you, I undertook no more, then to prove against you, that some at least in those times, held the universal jurisdiction of the Pope, now whether my proof, or your answer be the fairer, I leave it to the impartial Reader.

P

Mr. Baxter.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 132. *Your second Instance is that Flavianus appeals to the Pope as to his judge; Epist. praxambul. Concil Chalced. Reply, I have perused all the Council of Chalcedon, as it is in Binius, purposely to finde the words you mention of Flavianus appeal, and I finde not any such words, in Flavianus own epistle to Leo, there are such words, nor any other that I can finde but the word (appeal,) once in one of the Emperours Epistles as I Remember, but without mentioning any judge. I will not turne over volumes thus in vain for your Citations, while I see you take them on trust, and do not tel me in any narrow compasse of cap. sect, or pag. where to finde them.*

William Johnson.

Num. 132. I am sorry you were put to so much paines, but I take it not to have been occasioned by me: I cite, *Epist. praxambulat. Con. Chalced.* and you confess you found it in one of the Epistles, whether the word, (Judge) be there or no imports nothing; for the nature of the appeal, and circumstances wherein it was made, shew him to be a Judge, as wee shall now see.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 133. *But had you found such words, an appeal is oft made from a partial to an impartial Judge though of equal power.*

Mr. Johnson

William Johnson.

Num. 133. What a juridical appeal, made both *viva voce*, and *per libellum*, by a bill of appeal in and from a generall Council, to another of no greater authority then that Council was, nay, in your principles of inferiour Authority to a generall Council, would not this have been ridiculous? Should a Citizen of *Newcastle* injured in the Mayors court, publicly appeal to the Mayor of *Bristol* and his court, as knowing him to be a more impartial Judge, and of equal authourity with the other, would not all knowing men, nay the common people laugh at him?

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 134. He might appeal to the Bishop of Rome as one of his Judges in the Council, where he was to be tryed and not as alone.

William Johnson.

Num. 134. This is worse then the former, think you that *Flavianus*, was so great a fool, as to frame a Solemn appeal in writing in the presence of a general Council, from the authority of it, which is to be esteemed, and then esteemed it self the highest Congregationall tribunall in the Christian world, to a particular Council of some few Bishops in *Italy*, as to a higher Judge then was a general Council? this is just, as if one should appeal from the Parliament, to the common Council of *London*.

P 2

Mr. Baxter.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 135. *And it is evident in the history, that it was not the Pope but the Council that was his Judge.*

William Johnson.

Num. 135. But made that appeal, the Bishop of Rome or the Council either, an higher Judge then a general Council? that's the question here, if it did, then you must confess the Pope in a provincial Council at least *in re Ecclesiastica*, above a general Council in Power and Authority. How will your Brethren like that?

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 136. *The greatness of Rome and Primacy of order, (not of jurisdiction) made that Bishop of special interest in the Empire.*

William Johnson.

Num. 136. But wisthal you must suppose them in their right witts, and of ordinary Learning and Prudence, as *Flavianns* surely was; and then they will find it absurd and foolish to appeal from a general Council to a particular, or to make one who has no more then Patriarchal authority (as you hold the Pope has no more) above a general Council.

Mr. Baxter.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 137. *And distressed persecuted men will appeal to those that may any whit relieve them. But this proves no governing power nor so much as any interest without the Empire, to make the voices of Patriarchs necessary in their general Councils, no wonder ! if appellations be made from those Councils that wanted the Patriarchs consent to other Councils where they consented.*

William Johnson.

Num. 137. But here in the beginning of the Council, the patriarchs were present, even he of Rome by his legates, so that it was not conven'd wholly against the Popes wil, and had things been carried justly and canonically, there might have been a perfect consent of all the Patriarchs, at least there was the consent of three of them, and why a particular Council gathered by consent of one only patriarch (as was that in *Italy*) should be an higher tribunal then a general Council where three were present, I cannot see, nor I suppose you neither.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 138. *In which as they gave Constantinople the second place, without any pretence of Divine Right, and frequent appeals were made to that Sea: so also they gave Rome the first Sea.*

William Johnson.

Num. 138. But was there ever a solemn Canonical appeal, made in and from a general Council, to any Bishop of *Constantinople* with his provincial Council, as was made here, from this of *Ephesus*, to the Pope with his ?that's the point: and I hope you will give some instance of it from antiquity in your next.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 139. Adding this only that as *Flavian* (in his necessity) seeking help from the Bishop of the prime Seat in the Empire, did acknowledg no more but his primacy of order by the laws of the Empire, and the Councils thereof: so the Empire was not all the world, nor *Flavian* all the Church nor any more then one man, & therefore if he had held (as you wil never prove he did) the universal Government of the Pope, if you will thence argue, that it was held by all the Church, your consequence must needs be marvelled at, by them that believe that one man is not the Catholick Church, no more then seeking of help, was an acknowledging an universal headship or governing power.

William Johnson.

Num. 139. All this is answered in the former instance, though *Flavian* were not all the Church, nor half neither, (for where did I ever say he was, or needed to say so) yet he was one man at least, and a good Orthodox Christian, and that's enough, to confute your former assertion, that *within the first four hundred*
years

years, you never saw any one who was for the Popes universal monarchy or vice-Christi-ship. now this was all I undertook to make good in my instances, as I have demonstrated above, what you add, that this appeal having been addressed to *Simplicius* by *Flavianus*, argu'd no more than a primacy of order in *Simplicius* before all other Bishops, will seem as strange to considering persons, as if a malefactor condemned by a younger Judge at the assizes, should appeal to some other more ancient amongst the Judges, because he would take place of the other in Parliament.

CHAP. II.

ARGUMENT.

Theodore, the council of *Sardica*, *St. Leo*

NUM 140. Mr. Baxter crownes his arguments, before he gives them a being. *Theodore* seeks in his appeal to be restored to his Bishoprick of *Cyrr*, as he was by the Popes authority. Num. 143. The Council gave no new judgement of *Leo*. Num. 145. In virtue of the Popes having authority over general Councils, it follows he had power also over extra-imperiall Churches. The *Sardican* council rightly cited; but not fully Englished by me. Num. 150. Of what authority the *Sardican* council was. Num. 151. The *Sar-*

dicen council falsified, and sent into Africa by the Donatists. Num. 153. Canons of the council of perpetual force in the Church. Num. 164. St. Peter unsainted by Mr. Baxter, ibid. His disrespect to General Councils. Num. 165. ibid. The Sardinian canons give not, but presuppose a Supream power in the Pope.

Mr. Baxter,

Num. 140. *And it is undeniably evident that the Church of Constantinople, and all the Greek Churches, did believe the universal Primacy, which in the Empire was set up, to be of humane right, and now changeable, as I prove not only by the express testimonies of the council of Chalcedon, but by the slackening of the Primacy at last in Gregorius' days on Constantinople it self, whose pretence, neither was nor could be any other then a humane late institution.*

William Johnson.

Num. 140. *These authorities shall be answered in your second part, where you urge them at large: to the Council of Chalcedon something is said already.*

Mr. Baxter,

Num. 141. *And if the Greek Churches judged so of it in Gregorius' days, and the Council of Chalcedon, in Leo's days, we have no reason to think that they ever judged otherwise; at least not in Flavianus' days, that were the same as Leo's, and business done about*

149. *This argument I here set against all your instances at once, and it is unanswerable.*

William Johnson.

Num. 141. It is really unanswerable, for I see nothing to be answered in it, you only say you prove it by the testimony of the Council of Chalcedon, and stating the primacy at least in St. Gregory's days in Constantinople, but neither produce here any authority of that Council nor of the Pope; then you come with an *if* it be so &c. when you have not proved it is so; and then say, your *Argument is unanswerable*: 'tis so indeed, for no man can answer an argument before it be made, considering men will think it had been soon enough to honour your own arguments with the illustrious title of *unanswerable*, when you have set them out in their full glory, but very unreasonable before you have given them a being: now how unanswerable your argument will prove, when it has a being, time will inform us.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 142. *Your next instance is of Pope Leo's restoring Theodoret, upon an appeal to just judgement. Reply, every Bishop hath a power to discern who is fit for his own Communion; and so Leo and the Bishops of the West perceiving Theodoret to be Orthodox received him as a Catholick into their communion, and so might the Bishop of Constantinople have done.*

William Johnson.

Num. 142. Was there no more in it, think you, then a bare receiving an Orthodox Bishop into communion?

nion? what need was there of that? for I read not, that *Theodore* was excommunicated by the false Council of *Ephesus*, but deposed from his Bishoprick; but having been accused of Nestorianisme, and as such, condemned in this Council, the Pope according to the usual custome declared him Orthodox, and received him into his communion; it was a restoration to his Episcopal Sea which he appealed for, and a reversing the unjust sentence (in his absence, and having no warning given him to plead his cause, and defence) which he sought for to Pope *Leo*, and he was accordingly restored in the first Session of the Council of *Chalcedon*, and consequently by the Authority of Pope *Leo*, and took his seat in the Council with the other Fathers: because the Bishop of *Rome* had judged him innocent, and restored him: nor is there any mention made of the Bishops of the West, but only of a restauration ordered by *Leo's* authority, nor could the Bishop of *Constantinople* have done any such sovereign act, as this was. (which you say but prove not,) shew me if you can, ever any appeal like this of *Theodore's* made from the sentence of a generall Council, to any patriarch in the world? save the Bishop of *Rome*. or any Bishop thus appealing restored to his sea after deposition by a general Council, save only by the Popes authority.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 143. *But when this was done: the Council did not thereupon receive him, and restore him to his Bishoprick, no, nor would heare him read the passage between Pope Leo and him, no nor make a confession of his Faith, but cryed out against him as a Nestorian till he had expressly Anathematiz'd Nestorius and Eutiches before the*

the Council, and then received and Restored him, so that the small judgement was not by Leo, but by the Council.

William Johnson.

Num. 143. Here are many untruths put up together;
 1. First it is most certain the Council did receive him and he sat amongst them, as Bishop of *Cyrrus* upon his Restitution by *Leo*; though the Bishops of *Palestine*, *Egypt* and *Illyria*, excepted and exclaimed against him.
 2. It was not the Council but those Bishops which opposed him, for whose satisfaction *con. Chalced.* he Anathemis'd *Nestorius*, *at. 1.*
 3. The Council did not restore him otherwise, then by ratifying and approving Pope *Leo's* act of Restorations which is not to have the final judgement of the cause, but to consent and approve by a publick act, what was justly, and Canonically adjudged before, which may be, and is very frequently don by equall, or inferiour judges: if indeed the judgement of *Leo* had been reverst in the Council, without the recourse had to him about it, you might have had some Colour to affirm, the small judgement was by the Council.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 244. But if in his distress he appealed as you say, to a just judgement, from an unjust: or sought to make *Leo* his friend, no wonder! but this is no grant of an universal Sovereignty in *Leo*,

William Johnson.

Num. 144. It was an act of jurisdiction out of the

the Western Patriarchs, therefore it could not proceed from *Leo* as he was Patriarch of the *West*; so that he must have done it, as having authority, and judicatory power over other Patriarchs; and seeing there is no reason alladgeat^l, why he should have power in the Patriarchs where *Theodore* was Bishop, more than in any other: *à paritate rationis*, it proves that he had juridical power over all the Patriarchs, *ergo* an universal power over the whole Church, at least within the Empire. if you will solve this argument, you must shew a disparity, why *Theodore* was more subject to the Sea of *Rome* than any other Bishop within the Empire, or the rest of the Patriarchs.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 145. *And if it had granted it in the Empire, that is nothing to the Churches in other Empires.*

William Johnson.

Num. 145. It is manifest by this instance, that *Leo* had power to annul the sentence of a general Council, at least which esteemed it self so; nor can I see why Protestants in their principles, should not account it as true a general Council, as others of those times, there having been present both the Emperour and the Patriarchs, either by themselves or their Legates and as many or more Bishops, then were in other general Councils; now seeing general Councils had power over the extra-imperial Provinces, as is manifest above, from the Councils of *Nice*, and *Chalcedon*, which subjected the barbarous Provinces, that is, *Russia*, and *Muscovia*, &c. to the Bishop of *Constantinople* and the two Arabia's to the

the Patriarch of *Antioch*, of which some were the extra-imperial; seeing, I say, that this instance evidences that the Bishop of *Rome* had power to judge of the sentence of a general Council, and reverse it too, he must have had power also over that which is subject to general Councils, that is, over the extra-imperial Provinces.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 146. *Or, if he had granted it as to all the world; he was but one man of the world and not the Catholick Church.*

William Johnson.

Num. 146. 'Tis true, *Theodoret* was but one man, but it was not *Theodoret* alone who thought this appeal lawful, but it was approved as such by the whole general Council of *Chalcedon*, which was the Church representative, having exercised power, as well without, as within the Empire; and after this the whole Catholick Church was satisfied with it, never having accepted against it, by any Orthodox writer in or about these times, nor any memory lost, that the Church or any true parts of it, excepted against it, in your next it will be expected, you either produce some exception, witnessed by Catholick antiquity, made against it, or grant, it was accepted by the whole Church, yet had it been *Theodoret* alone who approved that appeal, I had prov'd, there was at least one Orthodox christian, who held the Popes supremacy in those ages, which was all I undertook to prove, to infringe your assertion. *See Supra*

Mr. Baxter

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 147. *The Council expressly take on them the determination after Leo, and they slight the legates of the Pope, and pronounce him a Creature of the Fathers and give Constantinople equall priviledges, though his legates refuse to consent: but of the frivolousnesse of this your instance, see D. Field of the Church lib. 5. cap. 35. pag. 537. 538. and more fully, Blondel de primatu, ubi sup. cap. 25. sect. 63. 65.*

William Johnson.

Num. 147. Here is much said and nothing proved: part of what you say is just now satisfied, when in your rejoinder you alleadge the reasons of those two Doctors of yours, you shall have an answer.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 148. *Your next instance is, that the Council of Sardis determined, that no Bishop deposed by other neighbouring Bishops, pretended to be heard againe, was to have any successor appointed till the case were defined by the Pope Conc. Sard. cap. 4. cited by Athanas. apol. 2. pag. 753. Reply, It seems you ar well acquainted with the Council that know not of what place it was; It was the Council at Sardica, and not at Sardis that you would mean. Sardis was a City of Lydia apud Tmolium, olim Regio Coerfi inter Thyatiram & Philadelphiam. But this Sardica was a City of Thrace in the confines of the higher Mysia, inter Naissum Mysia & Philippopolim Thraciz, as to the instance.*

Will: Johnson.

William Johnson.

Num. 148. Had you seen my citation in the margin, you might have saved this labour, for I find it cited in two different copies of mine. *Concilium Sardicense*, not *Sardiense*, and in a third, *Con: Sardie*. which haply was contracted in the copie sent to you, as you have printed it. *Con. Sard*: whereby it is manifest, I know what I cited, and all the defect was in Englishing the latine word *Sardicense*, wherein such as have lived most part of their lives beyond Sea, are not so well versed, as those who never stept out of *England*; and indeed you might as well blame the common strain of our English writers, as me in this; who ordinarily translate *Nicea Nice*, when it should be *Nicce*, for *Nice* and *Nicea* are all as different Cities as *Sardis* and *Sardica*: yet the very name *Sardis* for *Sardica* was used long before me; for I am not the first who confounded the names of those two Cities as *Baronius* witnesses, *an.* 347.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 149. *This Council is by Augustine rejected as Heretical, though I defend not his opinion.*

William Johnson.

Num. 149. Why then loose you time in mentioning it? but by your leave St. *Augustine* never rejected this Council of *Sardica*, for it is probable it was unknown to him to be different from that of *Nice*: But that of *Philippopolis*, not far from *Sardica*, where the *Arian* Bishops assembled a conventicle, and gave it out, under the name of the *Arian* Council.

Mr. Bax-

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 150 2. *It was of so little note and authority, that it was not known to the Council of Carthage to have the next antecedent Canons (which you would have omitted if you had read them, its like) in which your writers glory, as their cheifest strength; and which Bellarmine thinks Pope Zosimus called the Nicene,*

William Johnson.

Num. 150 I can scarce think you were in earnest, when you writ this, was the *Sardican* Council of little note, when *Socrates, Zozomen, Severus, Theodoret, Vigilins* episc. *Tadentinus, Hilarius, Epiphanius*, and above all *St. Athanasius*, who was present in it, make most honourable mention of it, as of a famous general Council, wherein, as many of them say, were above 308 Bishops, all Catholics, wherein the *Nicene* Faith was confirmed against the *Arians* & which for its great and unblemish'd authority, so fully consonant with the *Nicene* doctrine, deserved to be accounted the same with it, and to passe under the name and notion of the Council of *Nice*. now this Council was celebrated by consent of both the Emperours of the *East* and *West*, *as then, ad* and therein were Bishops (as *St. Athanasius* *testis*. and *Theodoret* witness) from all the Provinces of *Christendome*, even from *Arabia* it self, though extra-imperial,

Mr. Baxter.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 151. Or rather is it not suspicious ? that this Canon is forged, when those Carthage Fathers plainly say, in nullo patrum concilio invenimus, mentioning that antecedent Canon proposed by Hosius, to which this mentioned by you proposed by Gaudentius is but an addition or supplement. And it is not like that all these African Fathers could be ignorant of those canons of Sardica, when such abundance of African Bishops were at the Council, and that but about 50 years before. You may see in Binius how hard a strait he is put to, to give any tolerable reason of this, and onely saith that its like, some of the Canons were lost. Sure tradition was then grown untrusty.

William Johnson.

Num. 151. Had you but perused at leisure what the malice of the Donatists had wrought in Africa concerning the acts of the true Sardican Council in suppressing the canons of that Council, and obtruding those of the false council of Philippopolis, composed of Arians under the title and name of the Council of Sardica, you had had smal reason to judge that the African Fathers could not be ignorant of those canons of Sardica. Now that the foresaid Arian Council was given out by the Donatists under the name of the Sardican Council; it was most evident from St. Aug. ep. 163. where he affirms that in a book containing the Council of Sardica, he found St. Athanasius and Julius Bishop of Rome condemned, whence he collected, it was a Council of Arians and contra, l. 3. c. 24. He tells his adversary

Q

versary the Council of *Sardica*, was a conventicle of *Arians*, as was evident by the copies which in his time they had of it, amongst them, having been assembled principally against St. *Athanasius*, whereas it is manifest (as the authors witness in the former paragraph)

the true Council of *Sardica* was in favour
Epist. con. and defence of St. *Athanasius* and in con-
Sardapud firmation of the *Nicene* Faith : that
Arian. this fraud was practised by the *Do-*
Athen: Apol. *natists*, St. *Aug.* witnesseth *Ep.* 163.
et ad sol. vii. where he affirms that *Spurious* book was shewed him
 by *Fortunius* the *Donatist*, and gives also there the
 reason of this perfidious dealing ; because they found in
 that *Arian* Council a writing addrest to the *African*
 Bishops, of their communion with *Donatus* the first be-
 ginner and then Bishop of the *Donatists*, whence ap-
 pears undeniably that in St. *Aug's*, and so in time of
 the *African* Council, there was no other copy of the
Sardican Council, save that false one of the *Arians*,
 fraudently given out for the true one of *Sardica*. Now
 if St. *Augustine* the light not only of *Africa* but of
 the whole Church, was ignorant of the true canons of
 the *Sardican* Council, the copies of it having been sup-
 pressed by the *Donatists*, what need you wonder that the
 rest of the *African* Bishops were ignorant of them ?
 and this is the reason why the *African* Fathers writ,
they found not the canons in any Council of the Fathers,
 because they had not the true copy of the *Sardican*,
 wherein they were : yet it is true that these very canons
 were acknowledged by the *African* Churches within
 very few years after this *African* Council, both by the
S. Leo. Ep. 3. ad practise of that Church, where (as St. *Leo*
Episc. Africanus. witnesses) an *African* Bishop appealed to
 him who succeeded within eight years of *Celestine*, and
 his

his appeal was received : and by inserting these very canons of the *Sardican Council* into the canon law of *Africa*, for *Fulgentius Ferrandus* Deacon of *Carthag.* not long after *St. August.* *Polig. Ferrand. in
Revisio: Can 1
art 17. & 40.* and *Contemporanean* with *St. Fulgentius*, hath registred them into his collection of the canons amongst the rest.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 152. *It was made in a case of Athanasius and other Orthodox Oriental Bishops meetly in that strait to save them, and the Churches from the Arians.*

William Johnson.

Num. 152. But if it were only for this strait, why was it many years after put into the canon law of *Africa*, (as I have now proved) and practised to this very day ever since in the Church? Who ever before you said, it was only for that strait? name any one claspick author of antiquity, if you can, who said so? Canons of general Councils though occasioned by several accidents, are to be supposed as perpetual to the whole Church, till they be either repealed by some authority equal to a general Council, or some manifest action given in the institution of them, that they are only provisional for a time: prove if you can by the words of this Council that it intends them only to be obligatory only for *that strait* and not to be perpetual. This indeed were an excellent way to infringe the obligation of all or the most part of the Ecclesiastical canons by saying, they were in aid upon *such a strait*, (as all were made by some or other,) and therefore binde not, after
Q 2 that

that occasion is past. But what if in effect, either the same or the like occasion and strait, more or lesse, be still found in the Churches. For after the *Arians* the *Nestorians*, *Eutychians*, *Monothelites*, image breakers & others, persecuted Catholick Bishops as wrongfully as did the *Arians*; why then was this canon not to remaine necessary after that strait of the *Arian* opposition? I see the strait was yours, being much pinched for an answer, when you fell upon such a strait as this.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 153. *The Arians withdrew from the Council being the Minor part; and excommunicated Julius and Athanasius and other occidentals; and the occidental Bishops excommunicated the oriental. Athanasius himself was a cheif man in the Council, and had before been rescued by the help of Julius, and therefore no wonder if they desired this safety to their Churches.*

William Johnson.

Num. 153. But yet because it was morally certain, even after this strait was past that as before this Council was assembled, or the Council of *Nice* either; many Bishops were oppressed by their neighbour Bishops and stood in need of appeals: so in all future times more or lesse such occasions would happen as continual experience ever since hath taught, as they have hapned. for these reasons I say it was necessary that these and the like canons should be of perpetual force or remedy against perpetual dangers, equal, or like to those of the *Arians*. This ground of yours, would have stood our late Republicans in good stead, who might have cancelled most of the ancient lawes of our Kingdomes upon the

the same pretence, with yours, that they were enacted first upon some *strait* or other, which being past over many years agoe, they are now no more necessary, nor any way obligatory. See you not, what foundations you lay, for the overthrow of the lawes both of Church and Kingdome?

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 154. *Note that this is a thing newly granted now, by this canon, and not any ancient thing.*

William Johnson.

Num. 154. Prove it is a new thing : this decree was not before it was made, but the matter of the decree, that is, the power of the Bishops of *Rome* to judge all other prelates was before this Council, for otherwise St. *Athanasius* and the other Bishops could never have appealed to the Bishops of *Rome* as to their judges, or would their appeales have been accepted by those holy Bishops, or approved in general Councils, or had the effects of restauration &c. In the Church. which notwithstanding, you your self confesse here, was done before this Council.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 155. *Note that therefore it was of humane Right, and not of Divine.*

William Johnson.

Num. 155. Therefore, whence deduce you that to prove first your premises before you infer your conclusion ? may not the Church order that divine Lawes and institutions be observed, and are they therefore not of

divine right, because the Church hath commanded the observance of them? did not the fourth Council of *Lateran* command all Christians to receive at *Easter*? Is therefore the reception of the Sacrament not of divine right? true it is, the circumstances of Executing divine commands may be determined by the Church, as they were in this Council: but the substance is still divine. shew by any word in those canons that they give the power of judging the causes of all Bishops to the Pope, as if he had it not before?

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 156. *Note that yet this canon was not received, or practised in the Church, but after this, the contrary maintained by Councils, and practised, as I shall anon prove.*

William Johnson.

Num. 156. When you prove it, I hope, I shall answer it.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 157. *That it is not any antecedent Governing power, that the Canon acknowledgeth in the Pope, but in honor of the memory of St. Peter, as they say; (yet more for their present security) they give thus much to Rome, it being the vulgar opinion that Peter had been their Bishop.*

William Johnson.

Num. 157. I am heartily sorry to discover so bad a spirit

spirit in you, as these expressions demonstrate, why give you not the title of *St.* to him, to whom this holy œcumenicall Council (as you here acknowledg) gave it. they call him (say you) *St. Peter* and you unsaint him, & call him, as it were in derision of the Council, plain *Peter*. why call you that a vulgar opinion? which was imbraced as an unquestioned certainty, by this reverend, Learned, and general assembly of the catholick Church. why impose you upon this holy Council? that they had preferred their own security before the memory of *St. Peter*. I am really struck with compassion to see so much of the *Lucian* in you.

I have denyed any power at all to be given to the Bishops of *Rome* by these canons; they only determine the use which was to be made of his presupposed power, by whom, and when. If an order be made in Parliaments, That such particular persons as have been oppressed by others in inferiour courts, shall have recourse by appeal to one of the Lords cheif Justices. Does that Parliament by virtue of that order create or institute the Lord cheif Justice? or rather, is it not evident it supposes him to have the power of cheif Justice, precedently to that order, and only ordaines that others have recourse to him: But yet the power they mention of redresse and appeal to the Roman Bishops is to him only as Judge; for the canon sayes nothing of any Council joyned to him, nor names any other Judge, save the Pope. when a Judge sits in judgement at the assizes, though the bench be filled with other justices who inform and assist, yet the sentence proceeds only from the Judge. Thus though the Bishops of *Rome* used in matters of great concernment to the whole Church, to call some neighbouring Bishops to sit in Council with him for his better information, and greater

greater solemnity in the judgement: yet he alone had the power of pronouncing a definitive sentence in behalf of Bishops wrongfully deposed &c. It is manifest by this, that the restauration is ascribed as done by him, and not by him and his Council, and so having no authority in itself out of the *Roman or Western* Patriarchate, and serving only for an assistance to the Pope in framing his judgement of the case propounded, not in a decisive voyce in pronouncing the sentence, or legal power in granting the restauration.

How expect you to be spoke of after your death, when you slight so much the Fathers of the first general Council of *Nice* (for a great number of them were in this) and how can you live without fear, that you are led with the spirit of errour (when you refuse to hear and beleive those who were the lawful pastours in a full representative of Gods holy Church? but to shew how far you fal from truth in saying *those canons acknowledge no antecedent governing power in the Pope*, please to reflect on what is said in the third of them, where they leave it to the Popes prudence, to accept of what appeales he thinks fit, and intreat him to vouchsafe to write to the neighbouring Bishops, or to send legats of his own to examine the case, as he judges best: now had they conferrd this power upon the Pope by virtue of those acts, they should not have proceeded by way of intreaty, but by way of precept, and injunction, nor left matters to his disposition, but ordered him by theirs, what he was to doe.

Mr. Baxter.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 158. *That it is not a power of judging alone, that they give, but of Causing the re-examination of causes by the Council, and adding his assistance in the the judgement, and so to have the putting of another in- to the place forborne, till it be done.*

William Johnson.

Num. 158. But does not the first of these canons, give expresse order, that the Pope appoint the judges, and the second, that the Pope himself pronounce the last juridical sentence, & the third, that it is left to the Popes free election either to refer the farther examination to the neighbour Bishops, or send judges of his own appointment. Can there be more evident marks of an absolute judge, than these are? If the Pope had power only to examine the causes: who had the power to judge them according to these Canons? or to what purpose where those examinations made, if none were impowred to passe judgement, after the causes were examined? Now seeing the canons attribute the power of judging to no other, save the Bishops of Rome: for they make no mention at all of any Council; then the Council supposed the power of judgeing to be in him alone, and not joynly in the provincial Council and him.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 159. *And I hope still you will remember, that at this Council were no Bishops without the Empire, and that the Roman world was narrower, then the*

the Christian world: and therefore if these Bishops in a part of the Empire had now given (not a ruling) but a saving power to the Pope so far as is there expressed; this had been far from proving, that he had a ruling power, as the vice-Christ over all the world, and that by divine right: Blame me not to call on you to prove this Consequence?

William Johnson.

Num. 159. I hope you will also remember what I have answered to these exceptions: and that I have proved that Bishops from the three *Arabia's* were present in this Council, all which were not under the Empire: and that the *Roman* world in order to spiritual Government was as large, as the Christian world univocally so called, as I have prov'd from *St. Prosper*, and *St. Leo*.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 160. *There is as much for appeals to Constantinople, that never claimed as vice-Christ-ship, as jure divino.*

William Johnson.

Num. 160. 'Tis your pleasure to say so, but your word with me is not arrived to the authority of an *author*; it is your proofes, not the bare sayings I expect here. non proof 17.

Chap.

CHAP. III.

A R G U M E N T.

St. Basil.

NUM 160. Mr. Baxter, in lieu of answering to his adversaries objection, treats other matters, to draw his Reader from considering the force of the argument. Num. 161. Whether Mr. Baxter, or his adversarie, say true, concerning the words of St. Chrysostome, in his second epistle to Pope Innocent the first. Num. 162. What the first Council of Ephesus writ to pope Celestine, about Iohn Bishop of Antioch. Mr. Baxters strange confidence in both these authorities. Num. 163. Mr. Baxter flies to Hereticks to maintayn his cause, by their wicked practises. *ibid.* What Iuvenal Bishop of Hierusalem, said of the Roman and Antiochian Church. *ibid.* Mr. Baxter clips off the cheif part from Iuvenals words. Num. 164. St. Cyril presided in the first Council of Ephesus, as being the Popes legate. Num. 166. Mr. Baxter recurs again to the criminal proceedings of Hereticks, to maintaine his cause. *ibid.* He minces the force of excommunication, to lessen the Popes authority. Num. 168. Whether Blondel, Whitaker, and Feild, give satisfaction to that, which Mr. Baxter

Baxter calls a rancid instance. Num. 171. *What St. Basil sayes about the Popes authority.* Num. 172. 173. 174. *Many nonproofs heap't up together by Mr. Baxter.* Num. 179. *He flies a-gaine, to patronize his cause by the crimes of Hereticks.*

Mr. Baxter,

Num. 161. *The sixt instance out of Basil's 74 Epistle, I imagine, you would have suppressed, if ever you had read that Epistle, and had thought that any others would be induced by your words to read it.*

William Johnson.

Num. 161. This is a strange way of answering. I cite not *St. Basil* as it comprises those matters which treated in regard of himself, or of the *Western* Bishops: but only, as it contains his testimony of *Eustathius* having been restored to his Bishopprick by force of the letters of *Liberius*, which he clearly witnesses. Now that this was done not by way of recommendation only, and testification of his profession of the *Catholick Nicene* faith, in consideration whereof he desired he might be restored to the Bishoppricks, is manifest; seeing he actually restored him, by an absolute command. For you to alleadge other passages of a different nature, and nothing contrary to what I say, and unfit to shew the thing I cite, to be untrue, is a meer ~~negation~~ *negation*. why trifle you thus? answer the wordes of *St. Basil* relating to *Eustathius* and *Liberius*? It is not proofs from your *key*, that I expect here, but answers to my Arguments. *non proof* 18.

Your

Your branding *Liberius* with the note of an *Arian*, without proof, is as easily rejected by me, as said by you; what had such a parenthesis as that, to do in the argument? But I see it is hard to hide rancor, where it is excessive: For being universal authority drawn from these, and the like instances, is of force by an argument *a paritate Rationis*. What reason can be alleadged, why Pope *Liberius* should command the restauration of *Eusebians* a Bishop of the *Eastern* Patriarch, save this? that he had power to restore any one wrongfully ejected through the whole Church. You assert, that all the preheminance he had given him over all the Bishops within the Empire, was no more then a Primacy of place and precedency, how then came he to have a Primacy of authority and jurisdiction over all the imperial Bishops, to judge, condemn, and restore them? shew me who gave him that imperial power? this you never resolved in your whole book; and I know the reason, you could not resolve it into any other grant, then into that of Christs institution; from the Council of *Nice* it could not be, both because that Council (according to your principles) rather restraines his power to the *Western* Churches then extends it into the whole Empire, and the Popes exercised power through the wole Empire long before the Council of *Nice*, so that neither that nor any other subsequent Council could give it him, nor could the Christian Emperours give him that power, for he exercised it long before the Emperours were Christians, both in the *East*, and *West*, nor did the the primitive Bishops through the whole Empire give it him, for there is no proof in antiquity of any such grant: *ergo*, there is no appearance, that any such authority was given to the Bishops of *Rome* from any, save Christ himself. Now
Christ

Christ never restrained the power he gave him to the Empire, but rather intended it to the whole Church, and if he did restrain it, shew where and how?

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 162. *Your seventh proof is from Chrysostome, who you say, expressly desireth Pope Innocent not to punish his adversaries, if they do repent. Chrys. Epist. 2. ad Innoc. Reply, you much wrong your soul in taking your religion thus on trust, some book hath told you this untruth, and you beleive it; and its like you will persuade others of it as you would do me. There is no such word in the Epist. of Chrysostome to Innocent, nor any thing like it.*

William Johnson.

Num. 162. Either you or I must be in a mighty errour; I affirm those very words are in: you accuse me of taking things on trust, and thereby deceive my self and others; and you flatly deny there is any such word in the Epistle of St. Chrys. to Innocent or any thing like it, in which *Epist. 1 ad Innocentium* I again affirm those words are, and refer my self to the inspection of the *Greek* and *Latine* copies where St. Chrysostome intreats Pope Innocent, that in case his opposers would put a remedy to their crimes, and Illegalities they might not be punished.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 163 *Your eight proof is this (the like is written to the Pope by the Council of Ephesus,) which*
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no doubt you mean) is in *Binius* enough to make a considerable volume and divided it into six tomes and each of those into Chapters and not into acts: and if you expect, that I should read six Tomes in Folio, before I can answer your several sentences or shreds: you will put me on a twelve moneths to answer a few sheets of paper. If you mean by p. 2. Tom. 2. and by Act. 5. cap. 5. then I must tell you there is not a word of that you say, nor like it, only there is reference to Celestines and Cyrils Epistles; and Celestine in his Epistle recited Tom. 1. cap. 17. threatens Nestorius, that if he repent not, he will excommunicate him, and they will have no communion with him: which others did as well as he, but not a word of John Bishop of Antioch there, nor can I find any such time in the fourth tome where John's cause is handled. Indeed the notes of your historians divide the Council into sessions, but in his first session there is nothing of John, but of Nestorius: and in the fourth session John and his party excommunicate Cyril, Memnon, and others: and it was the Council that suspended first and after excommunicated John, and it is the Emperour to whom he appeales.

William Johnson.

Num. 163. Had I been sufficiently informed, before I writ this answer, you had no other edition of the Council then that of *Binius*, I should easily have framed my citations according to that, to save you the labour of turning volums over, but how should I know that, before you told it me? I had reason to suppose, that you who are and have been for many years so famous a writer of controversies, had the Council ready in all sorts of Editions, so that none could fall amisse
to

to you. If therefore you please to peruse in the *Ed:* of *Paul. quintus*, you shall finde the words cited by me *conc. Ephes. 1. p. 2. Act. 5. in relatione ad Celestinum*, where writing of *John Bishop of Antioch* to Pope *Celestine*, the Fathers reserve or remit him to the judgement of *Celestine*, & in the *interim* had provisionally declared him excommunicate & deprived him of sacerdotal power, whereby it appears how the Council excommunicated him, and not only that, but declared him also deprived of sacerdotal power. Now seeing they reserve this very sentence to the Popes further censure, It is manifest they both prefer his sentence before their own, and that the sentence was not only negatively to avoide him, or not communicate with him, but positively to deprive him of the communion of the faithful, which alwayes argues superiority in power (as we have seen above in *Acatius*) and tooke the Priestly power from him by his disposition &c. your strange confidence in out-facing two so manifest authorities will neither credit your cause, nor your self.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 164. *Indeed your annotator, in sess. 6. mentions some words of Juvenals, that he should at least have regarded the Roman legates, it being the custome that his Church be directed by that, but I see no proof he brings of those words corruption.*

William Johnson.

Num. 164. My citation mentions neither *John* appeales, nor *Juvenals* denuntiation but the *Ephesine Councils* letters to Pope *Celestine*, wherein they reserve the last judgement concerning *John of Antioch* to
Celestine

Celestine, yet sure *John*, appealing to the Emperours, prove no more, then that it is the Custome of Hereticks to appeal from general Councils, to secular Princes: and *Juvenals* denunciation against *John* was not only, that the Church of *Antioch* was to be directed, but judged also (which you are pleased to omit) by the Church of *Rome*: and that was not only a Custome, as you barely terme it, but an Apostolical ordination, *ut Apostolica ordinatione, & antiqua traditione* (sayes *Juvenal*) *Antiochena sedes* See the true meaning of this sentence in Hieron. Alex. c. disput. 2. de Regione sub urbe c. 4. *perpetuo a Romana dirigeretur judicareturque*. Whence appears that these words are not the words of any Historian, but are yet extant in the Council, and thereby proved to be true, and by them is clearly witnessed the perpetual power and authority of judging all other Seas, by an argument, *a paritate rationis*.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 165. And it is known that *Cyrl of Alexandria* did preside and subscribed before the Roman Legates, even to the several letters of the Synode. As you may see in *Tom. 2. cap. 23. & passim*.

William Johnson.

Num. 165. It is known also he was *Celest. Ep. 9. Theod. B. alfo in Photius Tit. c. 1. Nicoph. L. 14. c. 34.* Pope *Celestine*, legate in ordinary, & therefore sat as president in the Council, and subscribed first as being constituted by *Celestine* to supply his place in the examination and sentencing of *Nestorius*, in token of which, he wore the Pall in celebration of Ma's (. sent him from *Celestine*)

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in

in time of the Councils of *Ephesus*, which was the habit of the *Roman* Bishop.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 166. *But if your words were there to be found, what are they to the purpose: the Pope can punish the Bishops of Antioch: but how? why by excommunicating him, true: If he deserve it, that is, by pronouncing him unfit for Christian communion, and requiring his flock, and exhorting all others to avoid him.*

William Johnson.

Num. 166. I have before answered this in the example of *Acatius* punished by *Felix*, and this instance it self (*ut supra*) convinces, that it was not only a negative declaration of himself and others avoiding him, but of deposing him also from his Priestly office.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 167. *And thus may another Bishop do: and thus did John by Cyril of Alexandria though he was himself of the inferiour seat: and thus hath the Bishop of Constantinople done by the Bishops of Rome, & so may others.*

William Johnson.

Num. 167. What Bishops were those? *John of Antioch* a ringleader of the *Nestorians*, and some Bishops of *Constantinople*, why name you them not? none but *eiusdem farina* with *John of Antioch*, *Heretics*, or *Schismatics*

Schismatics: name any Bishop of *Constantinople*, who excommunicated the Bishop of *Rome*, and I undertake here to prove him to be either an Heretick or a Schismatick, and accounted such by the Catholicks of his time. That was that great and Capital crime so much exclaimed against in the Empeachment of *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, before the Fathers assembled at *Chalcedon*, was it not that he had extended his felonious hand against Pope *Leo* in pronouncing an excommunication against him? but shew me also, that ever any inferior or equal prelate gave out a sentence of excommunication against another of higher or equal dignity, who in so doing, was not condemned by the Catholicks of those times and then shew who in those dayes condemned Pope *Celestine* for punishing, and sentencing *Nestorius*, or *John* of *Antioch*.

You mince all you can, to depresse the Popes authority, the sentence of excommunication: who told you that the Pope only exhorted all others out of his proper Diocess, to avoide a person excommunicated by him? was not *Constantinople* out of the Popes flock (in your opinion?) and did not the Pope command with threats of Gods wrath that none should give the communion to those, whom he had deprived of it? so my instance above in the excommunication of *Acacius*. Or whence learnt you that excommunication was no more then to pronounce one unfit for Christian communion, and no command to abstain from them? produce your authorities, or reject your Novelties.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 198. Your ninth proof is from num proof 19.
the applications that the Arians and Atha- non proof 16.

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nales

nafius made to Julius. ex Athan : ad solit. Epist. Julius in Litt. ad Arian apud Athan : Apol. 1. p. 753. Theodoret lib. 2. c. 4. Athan. Apol. Zozom lib. 3. c. 7. Reply, I marvell you urge such rancid instances, to which you have been so fully and so often answered.

William Johnson.

Num. 168. But I marvell not to hear you speak so confidently, as you do, without giving reason for your confidence, it is so ordinary a thing with you. If you call an instance *rancid*, all the world must without scruple, believe it, because you call it so: if you say that has been often and fully answered, it must be accounted as certain, as if it proceed from an Oracle. Think you wise men will be moved to any thing but laughter, by such non proofs? will any rational person yield to you both the place of Judge and partie?

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 169. I refer you to Blondel de primatu cap. 25. sect. 14. 15. Whitaker de Roman. Pontif, p. 150 & passim. Dr. Feild of the Ch. l. 5. c. 35. &c.

William Johnson.

Num. 169. 'Tis a shrewd signe you aad no answer of your own worth the mentioning, when you send me to Blondel, Whitaker, and Feild, for an answer.

Truly Sr I have my hands too full to spend time in such needlesse messages, yet had I undertaken them, I perceivę I had lost my labour: for Whitaker, in the place you cite de Roman, Pontifice p. 150. hath never a word

word of these instances, nor of the Bishops of *Rome*. And your other citation of *passim* is as much as if you had said, you know not where, and thereby send me you know not whither. Are such citations fit amongst Scholars, in controversies of Religion? *Blondel* first trifles in time, figures, words, translations, to amuse his Reader, and then hath no other shift, but to feign *Julius* to have been freely chosen as an Arbitrator for that sole time and occasion, by the *Arian Legates*, as they might have chosen any other Bishop, not considering that Arbitrators must be equally chosen by both parties agreeing in the choice of them; so that no one party without the consent of the other, is sufficient to constitute an Arbitrator. Now it is evident, that upon this submission of the *Arians*, *Julius* writ to *St. Athan.* to appear peremptorily by way of citation, never requiring whether he gave his free Election to have him Arbitrator in his cause, as appears from *Theodore's Hist. Eccles.* l. 2. c. 4. and *St. Athan. Ap.* 3. where he cites *Julius*, affirming that *St. Athanasius* came not then to *Rome* of his own free Election, or of himself, but being called by the Letters of *Julius* to *Rome*; nor hath *Blondel* any ground to say in the words he cites, Ep. 73. that the *Arian Legates* chose *Julius* directly for their defence, nor onely to have a Synode called, wherein a definitive Sentence might be given: nor had those *Arrian Legates* any reason to pitch upon *Julius* for their Arbitrator, had the choice of a Judge been left to them: for they both knew he was a profess Adversary to their Herefie, and sufficiently informed against them. And for *Field*, he sayes nothing that can give any shew of satisfaction to my Instances, if he do, cite his Answer in your next, and I here undertake to shew it to be unsatisfactory.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 170. *Briefly this may shew the vanity of your proof; Zozaomon in that place saith, that though he alone wrote for them, yet he wrote in the name, and by the consent of all the Bishops of the West.*

William Johnson.

Num. 170. Why cite you not his words? there's something in't; for you spare no pains in that, where they serve your turn. Sayes *Zozaomon* upon your honest word (for that's all we have for it) that *Julius* writ that Epistle in the name, and by the consent of all the BB. of the West? What, of all? the *Goths* had then there BB. then you must acknowledge in your principles he writ an untruth: Had *Julius* their consent, and writ he in the name of them? Then *Julius* in this his Epistle, had as well an *Extra-Imperial* as an *Imperial* Authority, that is, had the Authority not onely of the BB. within, but of those also who were without the Empire, which you expressly deny in the next leaf, page 149. num. 3. and it is strange that all those of the West consented when there were no more than 50. Bishops, as *Baron*, affirms, ad. an. 341. n. 13. in Epist. of *spontani* in that Council. *Tradition.*

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 171. *The advantages of Rome, by its reputation and greatness, and the number and quality of the Western Bishops, made their Judgement and Communion valuable to others.*

Wil-

William Johnson.

Num. 171. But how far? What, even to cite and summon parties to appear before their Tribunal, and in case they refused, to pronounce Sentence against them, and acquit and restore their Adversaries? The Imperial City of *London* hath a proportionable preeminence with *Rome*, before all other Cities through the whole Kingdom; hath therefore my Lord Major, and the Common Council power to summon in this kind any other Magistrates of inferiour Cities to appear before them, and in case of non-appearance to justify and re-establish their Adversaries?

Mr. Baxter.

Num 172. *Basil before cited, tells you on what grounds, when Churches disagree, those that are distant are supposed to be impartial, especially when numerous.*

William Johnson.

Num. 172. Be it so: but sayes St. *Basil* there, that distance of place is enough to give power of summoning, condemning and acquitting parties legally? that's the question, where sayes St. *Basil* that? produce his words, or rather give a second reflection upon his words, cited by you p. 139. and you'll find no such matter.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 173. *To which is added, which Basil intimates that some hope of help from the secular powers by*
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the interposition of the Western Bishops, made them the more sought to.

William Johnson.

Num. 173. How sought to? As to friends and assistants? that's not our question now; as to Superiours and Judges? that's indeed the question, but sure the prime urgent and necessitating motive, why I have recourse to a Judge and Superiour, is his coercive power over me, the others are secondary and by respects in the matter.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 174. *And the Primacy of Rome (though it had no Sovereignty) made it seem irregular, that a Patriarch should be deposed without the knowledge and judgement of the Patriarchs of the precedent Seats: This was the custom that Julius spake of, and the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria might have said as much, if the Patriarch of Jerusalem or Antioch had been deposed without them.*

William Johnson.

Num. 174. If there had been no more then bare precedency, why should not the Metropolitans, who had the precedency of other Metropolitans, have had the like priviledge? who told you, or where ever read you, that this novelty which you have newly hatched, to have recourse to the Bishop of Rome, and acquaint him with Ecclesiastical matters, by reason of his Primacy in sole precedency of place, was the custom whereof *Julius* speaks? See you not that *Julius* his words and proceedings

dings in this affair speak loudly, a supereminent power and jurisdiction over those Bishops, whose cause he then heard, and summoned them to appear before him, and not a naked precedency of place before all others? who told you, or where ever read you, that the Patriarchs of *Constantinople* and *Alexandria* might have said as much, if the Patriarchs of *Antioch* or *Ierusalem* had been deposed without them? you are excellent at guessing what might be done, when you have no proof what was ever done; for shame bring proofs, or cease to play the part of a Disputant. *Non-proof* 17.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 175. *Every Patriarch might absolve the Innocent and hold Communion with him in his own Patriarchate; and if any be against it (as the Arians here were, and sent false accusations against Athanasius to Julius) he may require them to prove their accusations, if they will have him more by them.*

William Johnson.

Num. 175. Here are a couple more of non-proofs, I think we shall never come to an end of them. The question is not what one may require in courtesie and condescendency of another, nor whether the *Arians* were obliged only conditionally, (*viz.*) if they would have *Inlim* to be moved by the accusations they had sent him, as you surmise here; but how the Bishops of *Rome* came to summon them to appearance, and upon their defaultance to proceed juridically to Sentence against them, and to acquit and restore the persons they accused to the Dignities, from which they had deposed them

them, if he had no true and real jurisdiction over them; for had there been no more in the case, then what of their non-appearance, he should have surceased from any further proceeding, and neither helpt nor hurt them. Should you send accusations to the Chancellour of *Scotland*, against some of your brethren here in *England*, that by reason of his eminent authority in that Kingdom he might do you some favour; and he upon the receipt of those accusations should summon those Brethren of yours to appear before him, and for not appearance condemn them, and acquit and restore you, would not all the World see that he exceeded his Commission? No Patriarch by vertue of his Patriarchal dignity, though preceeding the other in place, had power to condemn any belonging to another Patriarchate (if the fact were not committed within his jurisdiction) without the consent of that Patriarch, under whose Authority he was, according to the Council of *Nice*.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 176. *Our own Communion with men, is to be directed by the judgement of our own well informed consciences.*

William Johnson.

Num. 176. But our consciences, if well regulated, must avoid all those whose Communion is prohibited by the lawful Governours of Gods Church; nor are private persons to avoid any, whom the lawful Prelates of the Church retain in their Communion.

Mr.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 177. *Julius desired not any man then to be one with a Council that should decide the Case.*

William Johnson.

Num. 177. There's another non-proof, make that appear. *Non-proof 18.*

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 178. *Councils then had the Rule, and the Patriarchs were the most honourable members of those Councils, but no Rulers of them.* *Non-proof 19.*

William Johnson.

Num. 178. And that's another ; let us see that prov'd.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 179. *Yet Zozomen and others tell you that Julius, when he had done his best to befriend Achanasius and Paulus, could do no good, nor prevail with the Bishops of the East, till the Emperours commands prevailed.* *Non-proof 20.*

William Johnson.

Num. 179. And that's another ; cite the place in *Zozomen*, who be those others?

Mr.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 180. *Yea, the Eastern Bishops tell him that he should not meddle with their proceedings, no more than they did with his, when he dealt with the Novatians: seeing the greatness of Cities maketh not the power of one Bishop greater than another. And so they took it ill that he interposed, though but to call the matter to a Synode, when a Patriarch was deposed.*

William Johnson.

Num. 180. What then? *Ergo* the Pope had no Authority over them. So did the Pharisees resist our Saviour, the Jews *Moses* and *Aaron*, and the late Rebels our most gracious Sovereign; *Ergo*, will you deduce thence they had no Authority over them? But see you not how inconsequent you are to your self? you said just now, p. 148. that it seemed irregular, that any Patriarch should be deposed without the knowledge of the Patriarch of the proceeding Sea; *Ergo*, say you, the Eastern Bishops seem (I suppose you mean truly and with reason, or you urge that reason, p. 148. without reason) to have proceeded irregularly in opposing *Julius*: If so, either this your first reason is against reason, or you against your self. *Tradition.*

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 181. *Any Bishops might have attempted to relieve the oppressed as far as Julius did, especially if he had such advantages as aforesaid to encourage him.*

William

William Johnson.

Num. 181. Another non proof, why give you neither instance, nor reason for what you say?

Mr Baxter.

Num. 182. *All your consequences here therefore are denied. It is denyed that because Julius made this attempt, that therefore he was universal Ruler in the Empire. 2. It is denyed that it will thence follow if he were so, that it had been by divine right, any more then Constantinople had equal priviledges by divine right. 3. It is denyed that it hence followeth that either by divine or humane right, he had any power to govern the rest of the world without the Empire. Had you all you would rack these testimonies to speak, it is but that he was made by Councils and Emperours the cheif Bishop or Patriarch in a National Church (I mean a Church in one Princes Dominion,) as the arch-Bishop of Canterbury was in England. But a national or imperial Church is not the universal, and withal oppressed men will seek releif from any that may help them,*

William Johnson.

Num. 182. All those consequences are proved at large in other parts of this treatise. The first because this proceeding of *Julius* having been approved in all ages by the whole Church, there can be no other reason given of his power over the Bishops of *Alexandria* and others of the *East*, save this, that he was head in Government over all the Churches through the whole Empire.
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The second that it was by divine right, for it was exercised by virtue of an ancient rule or canon received in the Church as *Julius* affirms, which could not be, that of *Nice*, for that was instituted a very few years before. Hence follows the third, for Christ's institution was for the whole Church, not for the sole Empire.

CHAP. IV.

ARGUMENT.

St. Athanasius, Theodoret, St. Chrysostom, Innocentius

NUM 182. Mr. Baxter, misrepresents his adversaries words, and then accuses him of want of Conscience, for writing what he never wrote. *ibid.* What sense Chamiers words can have, whether they be referred to a Judge, or to a friend. *ibid.* &c. St. Athanasius his recourse to Julius, and effectual proceeding in it: and that Julius had authority to restore him. *ibid.* Theodorets appeal as to a Judge, acknowledged by Chamier: nor is it directly contradicted by Mr. Baxter. If the Pope were Theodorets lawful Judge, by way of appeal, then was he also Judge of all the Bishops in the Church. Num. 184. St. Chrysostomes appeal convinces the Popes sovereign power. Num. 185. & 186. His appealing first to a Council, hindered not his appeal afterward made to the Bishop of Rome

Rome. Num. 187. *None but superiours to a Council can reverse the sentence given by that Council.* Num. 187. 188. 189. *How Mr. Baxter declines and Sophisticates the words of St. Chrysostome.* Num. 193. *Whether Arcadius, and Eudoxia were excommunicated by Pope Innocentius. In what year Eudoxia dyed.* Num. 194. *Mr. Baxter involves, and lames the words of his adversarie,* Num. 201. *What authority St. Ambrose had to excommunicate Theodosius, which att is fallciously instanced by Mr. Baxter.*

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 183. *In your margin you add (that concerning St. Athanasius being judged and rightly by Pope Julius) Chamier acknowledgeth the matter of fact to be so, but against all antiquity pretends that judgement to have been unjust. Corruption. Reply, Take it not ill Sr I beseech you, If I awake your conscience, to tell me how you dare to write so many untruths which you knew or might know, I could quickly manifest. Both parts of your saying of Chamier p. 497. are untrue 1 the matter of fact is it, that he denyeth. He proveth to you from Zozomen's words that Athanasius did make no appeal to a judge, but only fled for help to a friend; he shewes you that Julius did not play the Judge, but the helper of the spoiled, and that it was not an act of judgement. 2 He therefore accuseth him not of wrong judging, but only mentioneth his not hearing the accused, to shew that he did not play the part of a judge, but of*

a friend, as Chrysostome did by some that fled to him.
I pray answer his reasons.

William Johnson.

Num. 183. Had I written, as you print my words, I had indeed deserved a sharper reprehension then you gave me. Now whether I writ so or no, I leave it to your judgement; Here you cite my words thus: *in your margin* (say you) *you add, that concerning St. Athanasius being judged and rightly, Chamier acknowledgeth the matter of fact to be so, but against all antiquity pretends that judgement to have been unjust.* In which words you make me first wrong Chamier by affirming he sayes *Athanasius was judged rightly by Julius*, and then you make me wrong my self by delivering a manifest contradiction in two lines: for first in your citation I say, that Chamier affirms *that judgement to have been rightly done*, and then presently that I affirm Chamier to have said, *that judgement to have been unjust*; that is not rightly done. Now whether I affirm Chamier to have said the matter of fact, to have been so, that is, to have been *rightly done*, your own printing of my words will put the matter out of question: therefore pag. 52. in the margin you cite my words thus: *concerning St. Athanasius being judged and righted by Pope Julius, Chamier cit: acknowledgeth the matter of fact to be so.* Now one may be judged and righted, that is set again into his right, by one who hath no power to judge him, and consequently judges not *rightly*, that is, duly, juridically and Canonically: now by changing *righted* into *rightly* you change the whole tenure and meaning of my words, and then grate on me upon the Conscience, with what not I, but you or your printer was

was guilty of, and truly I should have been most willing to have cast it upon him, had your written copy shewed the contrary, so here you have not *righted* but *rightly*, neither do I hide these words, *so be so*, in my marginal copy, but only thus, *Chamier confesses the matter of fact*, without *so be so*, though I will not contend with you in this; as not having seen the copy which was sent you. True it is, *Chamier* would have this judgement to have passed as from a friend, but to prove this he contends that it could not be from a competent and canonical Judge, because it was under the notion of a judgement unjust, seeing both parties were not present to be heard in judgement, so that he holds this to have been an unjust judgement, if taken in a rigorous sense, which is all that I said. But in the mean time you answer not my arguments whereby I prove it just, nor could you answer them without impeaching St. *Athanasius* of concurring with *Julius* to an unjust judgement, for though *Julius* had past this judgement as a friend, yet to proceed to execution, before the adverse party was heard, or things made so evident that there was no place for defence, would have been an unjust proceeding: and if matters were so undeniably clear, it was not unjust for want of that formality, so that if it were unjust in a friend, according to equity or justice, can justify a person accused without hearing what his accusers are able to make good against him: much lesse can those accusers be condemned as manifest detractors and lyars, when they are not permitted to speak for themselves, and produce their evidences in quality of a judgement, for want of the defendants being heard, it would have been unjust in quality of friendship for the same reason, for now to say that St. *Athanasius* concurred with *Julius* either as an unjust Judge, or as an unjust friend, would

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gladly

to wrong that blessed Saint and your self too, but I would gladly be satisfied in this, how one who had no judicatory authority above another Court, could reverse the Sentence of that Court, and restore the person injured by it, to his right, as *Iulius* here did, by the Sentence given in a Council against St. *Athanasius*; or what man in his right wits, would address himself to a friend for relief, in that which he knows is above his power? should a Citizen of *York*, injured in the Mayor's Court, frame an appeal to the Lord Mayor of *London*, because he is his friend, and the prime Mayor in *England*, being the chief Officer of the Imperial City, to reverse the sentence given at *York* against him? would he not become a laughing-stock both to *York* and *London*?

Mr. Baxter.

184. *And for what you say again in your Margin of Theodoret; I say again, that he appealeth to the Bishop of Rome for help, as a person who with the Western Bishops might sway much against his Adversaries, but not as to an universal Governour or Iudge; no, not as to the universal Iudge of the Church Imperial, much less of all the Catholick Churches.*

William Johnson.

Num. 184. Here you say nothing at all to *Chamiers* granting it to be an appeal as to a Judge, that was so plain belike, that you could not answer it; nor yet would you expressly grant it neither, that had been too flat against you; So you thought it best to huddle it up in silence, and say nothing of it, and thought (it may be) your adversaries would have past it over too, but I hope all wise men will see your failing in this.

Bax-

Baxter p. 51. in Margin. The question in my Margin, there is not what you say to it, but what *Chamier* said: Now lest it should appear that you and *Chamier* clash in this, you give me only your opinion, but dissemble his; and yet sure his was as much the better, as it was the truer. Nor yet do you deny this appeal to have been, *as to a Judge*, which was the only question in the Margin, p. 51. *Baxter*, but not to have been, as to an *universal Governour or Judge*; no, not within the Empire (say you.) But by your good leave, if this were not a forcible Instance, supposing it were *as to a Judge* (which *Chamier* grants, and you deny not) to prove a *paritate rationis*, that every Bishop, both within the Empire and Church, might have as well appealed to the *Roman Bishop* as to a Judge, as *Theodoret* did, had he been injured as he was? If I say this was not of force, shew in your next some particular reason, why the Bishop of *Rome* had power to judge the case of *Theodoret*, rather than of any other Bishop in the Church? which till you do, your *effugium* that this appeal was not made as to an universal Governour or Judge, speaks nothing, for if he (as in our sense) be an universal Judge or Governour, to whom every Bishop of the Church may appeal, as to his Judge, then seeing *Theodoret's* appeal to him as such, proves every Bishop had as much right in the like circumstances, which *Theodoret* then had; it proves also, that he appealed to him as to an universal Governour or Judge, that is, to such a one to whom every Bishop might appeal in the like case.

See more of this supra.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 185. Your tenth proof is from Chrysostome's
S 2 case,

case, where you say some things untrue, and some impertinent. 1. That Chrysostome appeals to Innocent from the Council of Constantinople, is untrue, if you mean it of an appeal to a superiour Court or Iudge, much more if as to an universal Iudge: But indeed in his banishment, when all other help failed, he wrote to him to interpose and helps him as far as he could; I need no other proof of the Negative, then 1. That there is no proof of the Affirmative, that ever he made any such appeal.

William Johnson.

Num. 185. Every appeal from a juridical sentence to have it reversed, and the injured person restored to his former right, and the unjust Judges punished by the authority of him to whom the appeal is made, is to a superiour Court or Judge: But St. Chrysostome's appeal was such: Ergo it was to a superiour Court or Judge, the Minor is evident from the matter of fact, for St. Chrysostome writes thus to Pope Innocent: *Scribite, precor, & autoritate vestra discernite, hujusmodi iniqua gesta nobis absentibus & judicium non declinantibus nullius esse roboris, sicut per suam naturam sunt profecto & irrita & nulla, porro qui talia gessere eos Ecclesia censura subijcite, nos autem insones, neque convictos, neque deprensos, neque ullius criminis reos comprobate, Ecclesiis vestris jubete restituere, ut charitate frui & pace confratribus nostris consueta possimus.* Write I beseech you, and decree by your Authority, that the unjust proceedings against us, who were absent, and not refusing Iudgements, are of no force, as indeed in their own nature they are void and null; moreover, make

make those to lye under the Churches censure, who have committed such injustices, but command that we who are innocent, unconvicted, and unguilty, be restored to our Churches, that we may re-enjoy our wanted charity and peace with our Brethren. Is not this a full proof of the Minor? The Major is also evident, for none have power when appealed to perform those acts of authority over those of any Court, unless they be a higher Court and Judge then the other from whom the appeal is made, as all Jurists know and confess.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 186. *In his first Epistle to Innocent, he tells him over and over, that (he appealed to a Synode, and required Judgement) and that he was cast into a Ship for banishment (because he appealed to a Synode, and a righteous Judgement) never mentioning a word of any such appeal to the Pope.*

William Johnson.

Num. 186. What then? *Ergo* he appealed not to *Innocent as a superiour Judge*; prove that consequence. Was it not the custom then of approved Prelates (as also in all well ordered Common-wealths) first to appeal to the next ordinary Court, and if Justice were done there, to acquiesce, and not to come to the highest Tribunal, till no Justice could be had in the inferiour? Did not St. *Chrysostome* all this? must he needs mention his appeal to the Pope before he made it? I think in earnest you were in jest here.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 187. *Yea, he urgeth the Pope to befriend and help him by that Argument, that he was still ready to stand to uncorrupted Judges; never mentioning the Pope as Judge.*

William Johnson.

Num. 187. And was it not his duty to do so, according to Canonical proceeding? what need had he in that Epistle, whilst he was in hopes of an inferiour tryal, to mention an appeal to the highest Court? must he upon all occasions mention every thing? was it not sufficient that he did it when necessity required it?

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 188. *By all which it appears, it was but the assistance of his intercession that he requireth, and without, perhaps the excommunicating of the wicked, which another Bishop might have done.*

William Johnson.

Num. 188. But could any Bishop who was not a superiour Judge, which make against you, annul the Sentence of a Council by his Authority, inflict Ecclesiastical Censures upon those Judges, and command the injured persons to be restored to their Seats, as we have seen St. Chrysostome beseeched Innocent to do?

If you will undertake the writing of Controversies, answer like a Scholar to the proofs alleadged against
you,

you, and be sure in your next you fall no more into this fault; for by dallying thus, you may write to the worlds end to no purpose at all, whilst you neither answer, nor so much as mention the words, which make against you. *pardon me*; if I tell you my mind plainly, it is for your good.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 189. *Yea, and it seems it was not to Innocent only, but to others with him, that he wrote; for he would scarce else have used the terms ἀγαπᾷ καὶ τιμᾷ. τοὺς καὶ ἐκκλησίαν.*

William Johnson.

Num. 189. How familiar is it in writing, to persons of most eminent Authority, to use the plural number? how usual is this, both in Scripture and other Authors?

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 190. *But what need we more than his own words to know his request: Saith he, (let those that are found to have done so wickedly, be subject to the penalty of the Ecclesiastical Laws; but as for us that are not convicted nor found guilty, grant us to enjoy your letters and your charity, and all others whose society we did formerly enjoy.)* Corruption.

William Johnson.

Num. 190. This is a strange Metamorphosis of St. Chrysostomes words; why leave you out the beginning of
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of the Sentence, *scribite precor*, &c. I beseech you to write and decree that by your authority, those unjust acts are void and null: I see this was not for your purpose, nor could well admit of a handsom mistranslation.

2. Why cite you not the Latin or Greek words, that the equity of your Translation might appear: O that would have spoyled your market. Signifies then, *subiicite, let them be subject*; what Grammer hath taught you that? what word is there in the Latin Sentence, that signifies *your letters*, or *your charity*, and what English word is there, which answers to *jubete*, command, or to *restitu Ecclesiis vestris*, to be restitued to our Churches? Sir, give me leave once more to be plain with you; it had been much better for you and thousands of your too credulous Readers, that you had never set pen to paper, then to delude your own soul and theirs, with such sophistications as these are; and I pray God you come not one day, with a great Patron of your Religion, to curse the time that you ever writ Controversies, which notwithstanding, were rather to be wished then feared, if the Grace of true Repentance accompany it.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 191. *The Ecclesiastical Laws enabled each Patriarch and Bishop to Sentence in his own Diocess, though the person sentenced lived out of their Diocess, yet they might renounce all Communion with him. Churches that have no power over one another, may have Communion with one another; and that Communion they may hold and renounce as there is cause. Now if a neighbour Patriarch with so many Bishops of the West,*

West, had renounced Communion with Chrysostome's Enemies, and also written their letters on his behalf, and taken him still as in their communion, thus he hoped would much further his restoration : which yet he doubted, as he had cause. For in his second Epistle he thanks him for doing his part, though it do no good, or did not avail.

William Johnson.

Num. 191. St. Chrysostomes words now cited evince, there was more then bare avoiding of anothers communion. Nay it is evident the aforesaid authorities, that Pope *Innocent* kept communion with both parties, till a further trial of the cause was heard. vide *S. Chrysostome Ep. 5. ad innoc. papam supra citatam.*

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 191. And it is to be noted, that your author, *Nicephorus*, tells you, lib. 13. cap. 31. that Chrysostomes letters, and his fellow-Bishops also, and the Clergies of Constantinople, were all written both to the Emperour *Honorius*, and to *Innocent* : and therefore you may see by that on what account it was, and what help they did expect. The Emperour was not to excommunicate, but his letters might do much.

William Johnson.

Num. 192. But says *Nicephorus*, the same letters, which were writ to Pope *Innocent*, were writ to the Emperour ? prove that.

Mr.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 193. *Well; but to alleadge Niceph. lib. 13. cap. 34. to prove 1 Chrysostomes appeal. But you have better, or worse eyes then I, for I can finde no such thing, but a seeking for help, as aforesaid. 2 You say, Innocentius nuls his condemnation, and declares him innocent. Ans. So might another Bishop have declared him: But how far it should be regarded, was not in his power.*

William Johnson.

Num. 193. Now at last you confess, there was more then a bare avoiding the communion with others. Doe you really think, that any Bishop whatsoever could null the sentence of a Council, both out of his Diocess and his Patriarchate, as *Innocent* did that of *Constantinople*, that is to say, validly and lawfully? I cannot perswade my self you doe; now had it been unlawful, *St. Chrysostome* would never have intreated *Innocent* to do it. If you mean, any Bishop can do it invalidly and unlawfully, you say nothing to the purpose, it was not indeed in his power how far it was regarded, nor is it the power of a King how far his commands are regarded by powerful Rebels: but what of that? he had power to command and censure, to annul and restore, and so it was in his power to oblige others, and procured that it ought to have been regarded & that they sinned grievously in disobeying his command, which is enough for my purpose. But whilst you thus measure out the power of others by the rejection of their commands, made by unjust oppressors, you shew what spirit you had when you writ

writ this in matter of Monarchial government, it imports little what may be said of excommunication in general, it is sufficient that this now treated included jurisdiction.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 194. 3. *You say he excommunicated Atticus and Theophilus, and 4. Arcadius the Emperour also, and Eudoxia. Reply, 1. If he did so and did well, another Bishop might as well have done it.*

William Johnson.

Num. 194. Now let you and me try, whether the sentence of *Innocent* against these persons, were nothing save a bare excommunication in your sense, that is, a declaration of avoiding

them, or that they were unworthy of Christian communion or not communicating with them (ut supra) The words are these, [Itaque ego mini-

Nicoph: l. 13. c. 34. Glicar. Ann: par. 4. & extant Tom: 1. Epist: Rom: Pontif. Ep. Innoc: 17. Georgias Patri. Alex: citatus a S. Io. Dymasc: orat de Imagin. & a Photio in Biblioth: in Greg: Alexandr. extatque Græce editus in Angl: una cum Oper. S. Chrysost.

mus & peccator, cui thronus magni Petri Apostoli credimus est, segrego & rejicio te & illam (i. e. Arcadium & Eudoxiam) a perceptione immaculatum mysteriorum Christi Dei nostri; Episcopum etiam omnem & clericum ordinis Sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ, qui administrare aut exhibere ea vobis ausus fuerit, ab ea hora qua præsentem vinculi mei legeritis literas, dignitate sua excidisse decerno. Quod si ut homines potentes, quenquam ad id vi adegeritis, & Canones nobis a Salvatore per Sanctos Apostolos traditos transgressi fueritis, scitote id vobis non parvum peccatum fore, in horrenda illa judicii die, cum neminem; hujus vitæ honor & dignitas adjuvare poterit, arcana au-

tem

tem & abdita cordium sub oculos omnium effundentur atque exhibebuntur. Arsacium quem pro magno Joanne in thronum Episcopalem produxistis, etiam post obitum exauthoramus, unà cum omnibus qui consultò cum eo communicarunt Episcopi, cujus etiam nomen Sacro Episcoporum albo non inscribatur. Indignus eo honore est quum Episcopatum quasi adulterio polluerit. Omnis siquidem planta quæ a Patre nostro in cœlis plantata non est, eradicabitur. Ad Theophili anathematismum addimus abrogationem, & absolutam a Christianismo absolutionem. *I the least of all, and a Sinner, to whom the throne of the great Apostle Peter is committed, segregate and reject thee and her (that is Arcadius the Emperour, and Eudoxia the Empreſſe) from the receiving of the immaculate misteries of Christ our God, and I decree that every Bishop and Clerk of the order of the holy Church, to be fallen from his dignity, who shall dare to give them to you, from that hour wherein you shall have read these obligatory letters of mine. But if you, as being powerful, shall force any of them to exhibite them to you; and shall transgress the rules delivered to us from Christ by the holy Apostles, it will be no smal sin upon your Consciencs at the terrible day of judgement when the Honor, and Dignity, of this world can help no man, but the secrets of hearts shall be poured out & manifested before the whole world. Arsacius whom you have intruded into the Episcopal throne in place of that worthy and great John (Chrysostome,) we accurse even after his death, together with all the Bishops who wittingly communicated with him, whose name is not to be written in the Catalogue of the holy Bishops. He is unworthy of that Honor, who hath polluted his Bishoprick as it were with adultery. For every plant which is not planted by our Father which is in heaven, shall be plucked*

pluckt up by the roots. To Theophilus his curse, we add an abrogation, (or deposition,) and an absolute rejection from Christianity. Whatsoever *Blondel* presses against the creditableness of this Author, yet in matter of this consequence, hapning so neer his time, citing the precise words of Pope *Innocent's* Bull then extant, he could not be morally supposed to erre in this, though he fail in other matters: and if it be a good argument, such an Author often failes in history, therefore nothing which he saith can be beleived; even *Socrates* himself, the only occasional Author of the contrary relation, would not be of credit in what he saith of *Pulcheria*: for he often, not only through ignorance but malice and spite also against Catholicks, and particularly against *St. Chrysostome* either reports falsities, or conceals truths. *Blundel* p. 275. glories much in the authority of *Eunapius*, cited by *Photius*, who affirms he brought his history no farther then to the banishment of *St. Chrysostome*, and intrusion of *Arsacius* into his place: and the death of *Pulcheria*, who dyed (saith *Blondel*,) according to *Photius* his relation from this *Eunapius*, immediately after she was delivered of a child. But neither saith *Photius*, nor cites he *Eunapius*, as relating, that *Pulcheria* dyed presently after the banishment of *St. Chrysostome*, or intrusion of *Arsacius*: but only in the time of his banishment, and the others possessing the Sea of *Constantinople* which taking up three years time, shews the account may be true, notwithstanding all that *Photius* saith of *Eunapius*.

Here is much more then your minute excommunication, or bare avoiding to communicate with them, or I am much deceiv'd.

Mr.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 195. *Mennas excommunicated Vigilius of Rome. non proof. 22.*

William Johnson.

Num. 195. Your assertion of this had been more vigorous, had you backt it with some authority. who, think you (save those who have sworn to your placet) will be moved by such bare affirmations of your own ? But had he done that, did he also depose him : and forbid any one to give him the Sacrament, as *Innocentius* did here ? and had he don all this, was his authority acknowledged : either by the *Roman* Bishop, or by the common consent of Catholicks approving his act, as was this of *Innocent* ? see you not how far your instances fall short of the mark ? *Mennas* excommunicated *Vigilius* Bishop of *Rome* ; who saith so ? Mr. Baxter. what then ?

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 196. *Excommunicating is not alwayes an act of jurisdiction, but a renouncing of Communion, with a ministerial binding, which any Pastor on a just occasion may exercise, even on those that are not of his Diocess : examples in Church-history are common, more non proofs.*

William Johnson.

Num. 196. These proofless positions might have force in your own parish, they have none with me.

Mr. Bal-

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 197, 2. *But I would have you answer Dr. Whitaker's reasons by which he proves, that Nicephorus is a fabler in his relation, and that, that Epistle is not Innocents which cap. 34. he reciteth, lib. de Pont. Rom. Contr. 4. Qu. 4. pag. 454. 455.*

William Johnson.

Num. 196. This is the handsomest difficulty I finde in your whole reply, and, as it deserves, so I hope it shall have an answer.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 198. *Neither, Socrates Theodoret, or Zo- zomen, make any mention of this excommunication, who write much of the case of Chrysostome and Arcadius. And would these men that lived so near that time, have all silenced so great and rare a thing: as the excommunication of the Emperour and Empreſs, which would have made so great a noise and stir? that yet mention Ambrose his censure of Theodosius.*

William Johnson.

Num. 198. One reason why those three Authors made no mention of this excommunication may be, because it was so present in memory: and concerning such imperial dignities, that it was not convenient, and might have been prejudicial to them, to have published

Socrates & Zo- zomen pro- duce their histories to the year 419.

it

it in those times. Another, that *Zozomen* and *Socrates* being novatian Hereticks, would not give notice to all posterity of the most eminent authority of the *Roman* Bishop, over the Patriarks of *Alexandria* and *Constantinople*, & the Emperour himself. 3 That because *Arcadius* and *Endoxia* presently repented, craved pardon, and were absolved: the matter made not so great a noise in the Church, that these authors had in their times full notice of it, it having been almost as soon recalled by their repentance, as it was inserted: as *Baronius* testifies out of *Arcadius's* responsory Epistle to *Innocentius* & *Innocentius* his answer to *Arcadius*, recited by *Glicas*, *Annal. par. 4. 4.* Your argument is not only negative, but fallacious. For though those three historians mention it not: yet *Leo Augustus*, *Metaphrastes*, *Cedrenus*, *Zonaras*, *Gennadius*, *Nicephorus*, *Glicas*, *Georgius Alexandrinus*, whereof some are ancient Historians, record it; and the very Epistles which were written betwixt *Innocentius* and *Arcadius* (yet extant in an ancient *codex* in the *Vatican*, as *Baronius* witnesseth) give full testimony to the truth of it. Now had you produced a full negative argument against this excommunication, you should have proved, that neither any of the three authors you mention, nor any other creditable ancient author or records testify the truth of it. Nor concludes your parity from the recording of *St. Ambrose* his excommunication of *Theodorus*. For, first, I finde not that *Socrates* hath mentioned it in his history: so that you suppose a falshood in affirming it to be recorded by those three Authors. Secondly, that hapned by a publick notorious act in a great Church of *Milan*: this was only contained in a letter, and so soon recalled by penance, that it is not certain, whether it came to publick execution or not. 3 That was a prohibition

hibition from entering into the Church, this was only from receiving the Sacrament, the first being much more to be taken notice of than the second, because many came to Church, who received not every time they came.

Mr. Baxter,

Num. 199. 2 *This Bull of Innocents (as Nicephorus would have us believe it,) hath such falsehoods, contrary to more credible history, as bewray the forgery. For Socrates, lib. 6. c. 19. writeth, that Eudoxia died the same year that Chrysostome was banished, and that Chrysostom dyed the third year of his banishment. And Zozomen saith l. 8. c. 28. That Chrysostome was in banishment three years after the death of Eudoxia: but if Nicephorus were to be believed, Eudoxia was alive and excommunicated by Innocent, after Chrysostome's death. Nor can it be said, that Innocent knew not of her death: for his legates were sent to Constantinople in Atticus time, who succeeded Acacius, who outlived Eudoxia. This is the Summe of Dr. Whitaker's confutation of Nicephorus. And wisthat who knows not how full of fictions Nicephorus is?*

William Johnson.

Socrates might have been deceived by the word *ἔκδοσις*, which amongst the Grecians signifieth as ordinarily death as banishment, whereby he by mistake thought that to be spoken of his banishment, which the Author from whom he took that his story, spoke of his death; for it is evident, both from *Zozymus* a Heathen Historian, who lived in that very time, for lib. 5. he testifies that after the great fire at *Constantinople*, which happen-

ed after St. *Chrysostome's* banishment, *Arbazachius* was sent by the Emperour against the *Isaurians*, where after he had spent some time, depraving himself, and exercising so many corrupt proceedings and oppressions as he was guilty of, &c. which would require the space of a year or two, and thereby extend to the year 407. or thereabouts, wherein St. *Chrysostome* died; being accused, and cited to answer the accusations made against him, gave rich presents to the Empress, and thereby escaped punishment. Now these things could not happen but in a long tract of time; & it is not morally possible they should have been done in four dayes, as those say who follow *Socrates*; and *Marcellinus Comes* affirms, that the troubles of *Isauria* happened anno 405. under the Consulate of *Stilico* and *Anthemius*. So that *Arbazachius* must have had much more time before he was accused; and consequently the Empress must have lived some years after the banishment of St. *Chrysostome*. Nor makes *Palladius* any mention of her prodigious death so suddenly after the banishment of St. *Chrysostome*. And *George* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, who wrote 1000. years ago, and is cited by St. *Jo. Damasc. Orat. de Imagin.* affirms that *Arcadius* and *Eudoxia* were excommunicated by *Innocentius*; and *Zonaras* affirms the same. Nor do the Authors you cite against this *Bull*, affirm what you say. *Socrates*, lib. 6. c. 19. hath not a word of *Eudoxia's* death, or that St. *Chrysostome* died three years after his banishment; there's your two first errors. *Zozomen* seems to put the death of *Eudoxia* before that of St. *Chrysostome*, but speaks not a word in that place here cited by you, that he was in banishment three years after the death of *Eudoxia*; there's your third error. *Blondel* p. 277. cannot deny this relation of *Zozimus*, but questions whether the

the Empress he mentions were *Endoxia*. Now if it were not *Endoxia*, he should have told us What other Empress there was living at that time in *Constantinople*, to whom those presents were given. For *Arcadius* lived six years after this, and *Theodosius* his Son, was not capable of marriage presently after his Fathers death, being then a child of no more then seven years of age, having been born in the year 401. and *Arcadius* dying the year 408. Nor can it be thought that *Arbazachius* remained in *Isauria* till *Theodosius* junior was married, for the expedition in a short time was finished against the *Isaurians*. And presently upon that victory, *Arbazachius* fell upon oppressions, and complaints were not long after raised against him.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 200. In your, *Margin* you pretend to confute Chamier, p. 498. as saying, [That other Bishops restored those wrongfully deposed, as well as the Pope,] to which you say, that [never single Bishop restored any who were out of their respective Diocess, &c. whereas the Bishop of Rome, by his sole & single authority, restored Bishops wrongfully deposed, all the Church over.]

William Johnson.

Num. 200. I like not your writing my words by halves; they were not so many but you might have quoted them intirely as they lay, as you printed them, pag. 52. I adde there, after *Diocesses*, these words, *viz.* [But always collected together in a Synode, by common voice, and that in regard only of their neighbouring Bishops,]

which you mask under an (*&c.*) And then I adde [*whereas the Bishop of Rome, by his sole and single authority, restored Bishops wrongfully deposed*] as you have it here; whereby the difference appeared more clearly betwixt the authority of the *Roman* and other Bishops, which you, by your (*&c.*) have rendred obscure, there being no expreis reason by way of opposition in their proceedings, to adde this, *all the Church over*, which is clearly opposed to this other, *in regard only of their neighbouring Bishops*, in my words, and by omitting those words, *but alwayes collected in a Synode by common voice*, you hide from your Reader, that their convening was by order of their Arch-bishop, Metropolitan, Primate, or Patriarch respectively, who commonly had authority over those who were restored. For all Synodes were to be Canonically convened, by consent and authority of Ecclesiastical Superiours, either granted or presumed. And this happily may be one reason, why you wish those to whom you recommend this book (as I am certainly informed from a person of great worth who heard you) to read your last answer only, and not to trouble themselves with perusing my Text, to which you pretend to answer.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 201. *Reply 1. It seems you took Charnier's words on trust; peruse that page, and see his words.*

William Johnson.

Num. 201. I took only upon trust of my own eyes, and I think they deceived me not.

Mr.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 202. 2. *Single Bishops have censured, and therefore might as well remit their own censures. Ambrose censured Theodosius, who was no fixed member of his charge, and he remitted the censure. Fallacy.*

William Johnson.

Num. 202. You answer fallaciously, proceeding *à toto ad partem*. When I speak of persons *out of their Diocesses*, I mean clearly, such as are neither in them actually by way of habitation, nor habitually by birth and education; for my words are general. And you give an instance of one, who though not habitually, yet actually was within the Diocess of him who censured him, as then *Theodosius* was in the Diocess of *Milan*, where *St. Ambrose* was Bishop. You cannot sure be ignorant, that *domicilium fixum*, a settled habitation, makes one an inhabitant and part of that City where he lives, and that *crimen commissum*, a crime committed in that place, makes one subject to the Tribunal of that City. Besides, the Emperour could not be said, by reason of his universal dominion, to be fixt to any part of his Empire, for his Empire was his dwelling; so that wherefore ever he was actually, and committing any thing deserving excommunication, there the Bishop of that City had power to excommunicate him. With such sophismes as these, you inveigle your credulous Readers: I beseech God to forgive you, and enlighten you.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 203. *Epiphanius presumed even at Constantinople to excommunicate Dioscorus and his Brethren.* Socrat. l. 6. c. 14.

William Johnson.

Num. 203. *Socrates* hath no such matter in that Chapter, nor any thing like it, nor indeed could he, for either you mean *Epiphanius* Bishop of *Salamina*, who was dead 42. years before *Dioscorus* was excommunicated, for that *Epiphanius* died anno 402. and *Dioscorus* was excommunicated anno 451. or (as I think you do) *Epiphanius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, and *Dioscorus* was dead 70. years before *Epiphanius* was installed in the See of *Constantinople*. Nor did *Socrates* produce his History farther then to the year 439. that is, 90. years before *Epiphanius* was Bishop of *Constantinople*. Who wrongs his soul now, by taking authorities upon trust?

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 204. *And many instances may be brought, both of excommunicating and again receiving to Communion, by particular Bishops, even as to those that were not of their charge.* Non-proof.

William Johnson.

Num. 204. I wonder you being a Scholar, should persuade your self any prudent man will be moved by
your

your *may bees*, upon no other ground then that you say them without proof. If you have such instances, alleadge them; if you alleadge them not say, nothing of them: 'tis not for your credit thus to trifle in serious matters.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 205. *And if the fact were not proved, yet the forbearance proves not the want of power.*

William Johnson.

Num. 205. But sure, if it can be proved, a man of your learning can prove it, and then why have you not done it? is it not a shrewd sign there was no such power, when there can be given no instance in so many hundred years, that it was ever brought into practice? you know, *frustra datur potentia que nunquam reduscitur in actum*: and if such a power, whereof you say many instances *may be* given, had ever been, sure it was either frustraneous, and thereby not from God: or some steps of the exercise of it would have appeared in antiquity. We speak not here of what is or is not in it self unknown to us, but of what can be proved to have been: and that must appear by the acts and exercise of such a power, recorded in some ancient Authors or Records.

CHAP. V.

Theodosius, St. Leo.

A R G U M E N T.

NUM 203. *Many instances of Bishops restored out of the Empire, by the Bishop of Rome. Num. 206. St. Leo's affirming the Popes power in calling General Councils, to come from divine Institution. Num. 116. Mr. Baxter misrepresents his Adversaries argument, and then esteems what he himself hath done, ridiculous. Num. 217. Pulcherius for pulcheria, ibidem. Her letter about Anatolius his sending the Confession of his Faith to Leo, miserably misconstrued by Mr. Baxter.*

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 206. 3. *I deny your unproved assertion, that the Bishop of Rome singly restored all the Church over; it is a meer fiction. How many restored he out of the Empire? Or in the Empire, out of his Patriarchate? but swasorily or Synodically.*

William Johnson.

Num. 206. Very many. Such were all those Bishops who about the year 460. in Spain, in France, anno 475.

in

in *England*, anno 595. in *Germany*, anno 499. and other Western and Northern Kingdoms, which were taken either from under the command of the *Roman* Emperours, or were never under it, who were restored by the Bishop of *Rome*'s authority, when wrongfully deposed from their Sees, addressing themselves to him, and requiring justice from him, whereof all Ecclesiastical Histories of those Nations are full of instances. And in more ancient times, whilst the Emperours were Heathens, the cause of the Pope's authority, out of the Western Patriarchate could not be the subjection those Bishops had to the Emperour of *Rome*, but must have been derived from a spiritual authority instituted by Christ himself. For neither had there been any General Council in those times to invest *Rome* in that authority, nor can it be ever proved from antiquity, that it was given him by the unanimous consent of all Bishops, otherwise then as supposing it still due to him before their respective times, by the power granted by our Saviour to *St. Peter* and his lawfully Successors, as I have already affirmed, the Bishop of *Rome* to have received all the Primacy you esteem him to have from a Council, as shall be proved hereafter: And I press you to produce any authority in those times, which witnesseth it was originally given him by consent. Now that the Bishop of *Rome* exercised jurisdiction over the Eastern Bishops in *St. Victor's* time, and over *Firmilian* and those of *Capadocia* in Pope *Stephens* time, is so evident that it cannot be denied. See *St. Irenaeus*. Nor will it avail to say, those instances of *France* and *Spain*, &c. were in latter times, where we dispute about the four first ages; for if in all those ages it had been a common known tradition, that the Pope had no ju-

And *St. Cyp.* in
his *Epistles* to
Pope *Stephen*.

ric-

jurisdiction of the Verge of the Roman Empire, that tradition would have been publickly and universally received in the years 500. and 600. even to the first erection of those new Kingdoms in the West and North, so that every one would have known, they were no longer bound to be under the Roman Bishop then whilst they were under the Roman Empire, because all knew (in your novel supposition) that the jurisdiction of the Pope extended no farther then the Roman Empire. Why then did those Kings, and all the Bishops and Churches in their Kingdoms, esteem themselves as much obliged to the obedience of the Bishop of *Rome*, after they were freed from the command of the Roman Emperour, as they were before; and never alleadged any such reason, as you have invented, of the Popes authority limited to the precincts of the Roman Empire, to plead thereupon his not having any longer jurisdiction over them, as being now no subject of that Empire? What I say therefore, is no fiction, but a solide and manifest truth; that he had authority of restoring Bishops wrongfully deposed, all the Church over, even out of the Empire: but yours is a pure fiction, to assert that as a publick tenet and practice, which was manifestly unknown to those, either of the four first, or any subsequent ages, coined lately from your own brain, upon which, I pray God heartily, it lie not heavy one day, as novelties in Religion use to do upon the heads of their first Inventors. What you say of *swasorily*, and *Synodically*, I have above clearly confuted, by shewing that the Councils of neighbouring Bishops in *Italy*, were only assistants to the Pope, but could have no juridical power over the whole Church, or in parts remote, and without the Western Patriarchate.

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chate. Now to what you usually presse of *Ethiopia, Persia*, outer *Armenia*, &c. that no instance can be given, of any Bishop of those Churches restored by the Popes authority. I answer, that I can prove as effectually by instances their restoration by the Pope, as you can prove them to have been restored by their own Primates, Metropolitans, Provincial Councils, or Collections of Bishops, within their own Charters; nay, as you can shew, that any of them were restored. The reason therefore, that no such instance is given in the primitive times, is not as you imagine, and would impose upon your Reader, that none of them were subject to the Pope, but because there is no Records, or mention in Ecclesiastical History, that any were restored, either by this or any other authority; and if there be, produce them. The reason whereof is, because the Roman Emperours then Heathens permitted no publique correspondence of those who were out of the Empire, being their enemies, with those who were within it; and after the Christian Emperours being in war with those barbarous Nations, refused to admit (unlesse upon very urgent occasions) such correspondences; nor have we extant any authentick Authors of those Provinces, who have recorded the Histories, and transactions of the said Churches, so that 'tis unknown to us what either passed betwixt them and the Bishop of *Rome*, or amongst themselves,

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 207. *Your next instance of Theodosius his not permitting the Council at Ephesus to be assembled, and his reconciling himself to the Church, is meerly impertinent. We know, that he and other Princes usually*
wrote

wrote to Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria &c. Or spoke or sent to more then one of the Patriarcks, before they called a Council.

William Johnson.

Num. 207. You still seek diversions to avoid the difficulty. The question is not now whether *Theodosius* and other Emperours, did, or might write to other Patriarcks about the celebration of Councils, as well as the *Roman* : but it is this, whether they wrote *in the same manner to them* as they did to him ; that is, as Pope *Leo* witnesses, *epist. 15. that he (Theodosius) bare this respect to the divine institution, that he would use the authority of the Apostolick See for the effecting of his holy disposition.* And this was celebrating that Council, the 2d of *Ephesus*, which as then appeared to the Pope to be good and holy. Finde me such a sentence of his, writ by *Theodosius* or other Emperours, to any of the Patriarcks beside the *Roman*, that their authority was necessary, according to *divine institution* for the celebrating of a general Council ? and you will have done something: without which you trifle.

Mr Baxter.

Num. 208. *You cannot but know, that Councils have been called without the Pope.*

William Johnson.

Num. 208. Truly, if you speak of lawful general Councils, I am so unknowing that I know it not (supposing there were a known undoubted Pope in the Church

Church, as there was in *Theodosius's* time :) and I fear I shall be so dull, that you will not be able to make me know it : I am sure, yet you have not gone about it, and I presse you to nominate any such lawful general Councils call'd without the B. of *Rome's* consent, and authority.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 209. *And that neither this, nor an Emperours forsaking his error, is a sign of the Popes universal Government.*

William Johnson.

Num. 209. Take the context of my proofs along with you (which you conceal here) and you confess, this demanding the Popes authority as necessary to the celebration of a general Council, and in that, giving respect to *divine restitution*, is a sign of his universal government, seeing general Councils (as I have proved) are representatives, not of the Empire, but of the whole visible Church. And *Theodosius* his penance, whereof one effect was that he required the confirmation of *Anatolius* in the Sea of *Constantinople*, from Pope *Leo*, and thereby attested his power over that Patriarck, and, *a simili*, over all the rest ; he shewed himself to believe, that the *Roman* Bishop was supream governour of the universal Church.

Mr

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 210. *That Emperour gave sufficient testimony, and so did the Bishops that adhered to Dioscorus, that in those dayes the Pope was taken for fallible and controulable, when they excommunicated him.*

William Johnson.

Num. 210. No more then the Clergy of Sweden would shew it now, if they ventured so far as to excommunicate the Pope. Is, think you, authority overthrown, or rendred, or argued null, because it is opposed and contemned by Rebels? you shew in this, what your spirit is, and how inconsistent with true Government, when you make the contempt of Rebels, an argument that all whom they reject have no lawful power over them: a thing seasonable enough when you wrote this, having then rebellious times, and persons well suiting with it, but yet demonstrative what you thought then, and may still be esteemed one of your principles. But I wonder much you were so venturous as to let it passe the print, and see light since the happy return of our most gracious Sovereign. For think you men are so blind as not to see this consequence, that if Hereticks, outing and contemning the authority of a Catholique Bishop (as *Dioscorus* an *Eutychian*, and his party did that of *Leo*) be a good argument (as you make it) to prove he had no authority over the Church, nor over *Dioscorus* who excommunicated him: you must also hold, that a publique Rebel's deposing a Sovereign, is a good argument to justify the fact, and to prove that Sovereign had no authority over him. Or if you your self dare not

go so far, you have laid a principle, emboldning all Rebels to do it.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 211. *But when you cite out of any Author the words that you build on, I shall take more particular notice of them.*

William Johnson.

Num. 211. I have cited them out of St. Leo, and expect your answer.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 212. *Till then this is enough, with this addition, that the Emperours subjection, if he had been subject (not to an Ambrose, or other Bishop, but) only to Rome, would have been no proof, that any without the Empire were his subjects; no more then the King of Englands subjection to the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, would have proved that the King of France was subject to him.*

William Johnson.

Num. 212. You flee again the difficulty. I make not this argument: the Emperour was subject to the Pope in spirituals, *Ergo* all those Christians who were *Extra-Imperial*, were also subject to him. This is no argument of mine, but your imposition. My argument is this: The Emperour and all Christians, within this Empire, were subject to the Pope, as to St. Peters Successor and Supreme

pream Pastor of the whole flock and Vineyard of Christ, by Christs institution : *Ergo* all *Extra-Imperial* Churches were also subject to him. Now this to have been the reason of their subjection, is evident, both from *St. Leo's* Epistle lately cited concerning *Theodosius*, and from the Council of *Chalcedon*, treated by me hereafter; and from the command of *Martian*, and all the other declaratives of the Bishop of *Romes* supereminent authority, delivered and received in antiquity: where not so much as any one of them hath chained it up within the circuit of the Roman Empire, or given that for a measure or reason of his power; and it still remained in full force in such Kingdoms as were taken by Christians from the *Roman* Emperors, who (as I have said) never affirmed their freedom from the Emperours command, to have franchised them from the Bishop of *Romes* authority. Whence is clearly answered your parity in the Kings of *Englands* subjection to the Bishop of *Canterbury*: for the Kings of *England* never subjected themselves to the Bishop of *Canterbury* as to the Supreme visible Governour in spirituals of the whole Catholique Church, no not as to one who had any jurisdiction out of *England* at all.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 112. Your twelfth proof from the Council of Chalcedon, is from a witness alone sufficient to overthrow your cause, as I have proved to you. This Synode expressly determine:h, that your Primacy is a novel humane invention; that it was given you by the Fathers, because Rome was the Imperial Seat. If you believe this Synode, the Controversie is at an end: if you do not, why do you cite it? and why pretend you to believe General Councils?

Wil-

William Johnson,

Num. 213. You have a strange way of shifting off the force of an argument, and that quite out of form, and that illogical; and it is, to bring in some preface or other, to weaken the authority of those whence this proof is brought, before you give a Categorical answer. What have we now to do with your proof altogether? many leaves after? *Part. 2.* Is there not time enough to answer it when it comes in treaty? Have you forgot that you are a Respondent, not an Opponent? are you so much enamoured with your own arguments, that you must shew them at every turn, even when there is no just occasion to mention them? one would think it timely enough to boast of them, when you and all men see no satisfactory answer given to them. Have patience a while, and you shall see ere long, your authority from *Chalcedon* hurts us nothing. It is partly shewed already, and when it shall be treated in its place, I hope you'll have no cause to brag of it.

Mr. Baxter,

Num. 214. *But what have you from this Council against this Council? Why, 1. you say, Marrian wrote to Leo, that by the Pope's authority a General Council might be gathered, in what City of the Eastern Church he should please. Reply 1. Whereas for this you write, Act. Concil. Chalced. 1. You tell me not what Author, Crab, Binius, Surius, Nicolinus, or where I must seek it. I have perused the Act. 1. in Binius, which is 74. pages in folio (such racks your citations set me) and find no such thing: and therefore take it to be your mistake.*

V

Wil-

pream Pastor of the whole flock and Vineyard of Christ, by Christs institution : *Ergo* all *Extra-Imperial* Churches were also subject to him. Now this to have been the reason of their subjection, is evident, both from *St. Leo's* Epistle lately cited concerning *Theodosius*, and from the Council of *Chalcedon*, treated by me hereafter; and from the command of *Martian*, and all the other declaratives of the Bishop of *Romes* supereminent authority, delivered and received in antiquity: where not so much as any one of them hath chained it up within the circuit of the Roman Empire, or given that for a measure or reason of his power; and it still remained in full force in such Kingdoms as were taken by Christians from the *Roman* Emperors, who (as I have said) never affirmed their freedom from the Emperours command, to have franchised them from the Bishop of *Romes* authority. Whence is clearly answered your parity in the Kings of *Englands* subjection to the Bishop of *Canterbury*: for the Kings of *England* never subjected themselves to the Bishop of *Canterbury* as to the Supream visible Governour in spirituals of the whole Catholique Church, no not as to one who had any jurisdiction out of *England* at all.

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Mr. Baxter.

Num. 214. But what have you from this Council against this Council? Why, 1. you say, *Martian wrote to Leo*, that by the Pope's authority a General Council might be gathered, in what City of the Eastern Church he should please. *Reply 1.* Whereas for this you write, *Act. Concil. Chalced. 1. You tell me not what Author*, Crab, Binius, Surius, Nicolinus, or where I must seek it. I have perused the *Act. 1.* in Binius, which is 74. pages in folio (such tasks your citations set me) and find no such thing: and therefore take it to be your mistake.

V

Wil.

William Johnson.

Num. 214. I am sorry you have taken so much pains and lost your labour; but sure I gave you no occasion of it; for as I cited in the margin, *Con. Chalced. Act. 1.* so I quoted in the Text *Martian's Epistle to Leo*, when I said, *Martian wrote to Leo*; so that you had no more to do then to turn to the first Action of that Council, and seek *Martian's Epistle to Pope Leo*, which because it is in the full editions of Councils, I thought it needless to name any. Now this might have been done in a very short time; nor could it be more exactly cited then I cited it, giving both the Action and the Epistle extant in that Action. Could you not as well have found the Epistle of *Martian*, as of *Valentinian* and *Martian* (if they be different Epistles?) Sure the one was as visible and legible as the other. I tell you, 'tis no mistake of mine, but your mishap, that you found it not. Please to look again, and you will find those very words which I cite, in that very Epistle which I quote.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 215. *But in the Preambul. Epistle, I find, that Valentinian and Martjan desire Leo's prayers, and contrary to your words, that they say, [hoc ipsum nobis propriis literis tua sanctitas manifestet, quatenus in omnem Orientem & in ipsam Thraciam & Illyricum sacre nostræ literæ dirigantur, ut ad quendam determinatum locum qui nobis placuerit, omnes sanctissimi Episcopi debeant convenire.] It is not, qui vobis placuerit, but, qui nobis.*

Wil-

William Johnson.

Num. 215. Your words from the Epistle of *Valentinian* and *Martian*, infringe not those mentioned by me: for it may well be, that Pope *Leo* remitted the designation of the place to the Emperour, as judging it more belonging to them then to himself, as a thing wholly temporal, though the precise words, *qui nobis placuerit*, may be, in rigor, applied both to the Emperour and Pope. My first authority therefore from that Council, is not answered at all in this your paper.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 216. But what if you had spoke truth, dost it follow that Pope *Leo* was Christ's Vicar-general Governour of the world, because that the Sovereign of our Common-wealth did give him leave to chuse the place of a Council? Serious things should not be thus jested with.

William Johnson.

Num. 216. I argue not so: you proceed fallaciously, a *secundum quid ad simpliciter*. The force of my argument consists not in the chusing of the place by the Pope, that's a pure circumstance: but the strength of my reason consists in this, that the Council was gathered by the Popes authority. And to this you say nothing; which notwithstanding is an evident proof that the Pope had authority over the whole Church, as I shall prove hereafter. Serious things should be seriously answered, and not be thus jested at by fraudulent fallacies and disqui-

ses. Now in my words here cited, viz. *Martian* wrote to *Leo*, that by the Bishops authority a General Council might be gathered in what City of the Eastern Church he should please to chuse; the word, *he*, may as well be related to *Martian* as to the Pope. So that you cannot inforce from the precise words, that I say, the place was left to the Pope's choice.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 217.2. *You say*, *Anatolius* & the rest of the Eastern Bishops sent to Pope *Leo*, the professions of their Faith, by his Order. Reply 1. *And what then? Therefore Pope Leo was both Governour of them and all the Christian world. You should not provoke men to laughter about serious things, I tell you. Can you prove this Consequence? Confessions were ordinarily sent in order to communion, or to satisfy the offended, without respect to superiority. Corruption.*

William Johnson.

Num. 217. I see y^e are merrily disposed, y^e are so full of jesting and laughing; but truly see no other jest here, then your misreporting my argument, and then saying, it moves laughter. I spake of confessions of Faith, exacted from others by command or order of the Pope: and this I alleadge to be a proof of the Popes universal supremacy. And you answer, that *Confessions were ordinarily sent in order to Communion, or to satisfy the offended, without respect to superiority.* As if I made the bare sending a Confession of Faith to another, an argument, that he to whom it is sent, is superiour to him that sends it. Whereas I say in expresse termes, that it is the order-

ordering such a Confession to be sent to him who orders it, and not the bare *sending*, without order, which argues superiority in him who orders the sending such professions. Might I not here deservedly retort your *Sarcasms*, and tell you, *you should not provoke men to laughter* (by such gross perversions as these) *in serious things*. But I spare and pitty you.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 218. 2. *But I see not the proof of your impertinent words*: Pulcherius Epistle to Leo, expresseth that Leo had sent his Confession first to Anatolius, to which Anatolius consented. By your Rule then Leo was subject to Anatolius. Corruption.

William Johnson.

Num. 218. I find no Epistle of *Pulcherius* to *Leo*, nor so much as any such man in those times. You would say, I suppose, *Pulcheria*, the Empress: But you should have dealt more fairly, if you had declared in what manner *Pulcheria* mentions the Confession of Faith sent by *Leo*. Really Sir, the cunning which you use here, is unsufferable. First, you say, *that Confession of Faith from Leo, was sent to Anatolius*. Which is manifestlie untrue; for the Empress *Pulcheria* saith, it was sent to *Flavianus*, his Predecessor: This may pass as an error, in Historie onlie. Secondlie, you say, *that Anatolius consented to that Faith*, which is true, but you expresse not in what manner he consented to it: for equals may consent in Faith one with another, but the Emperesse saith, that *Anatolius* subscribed to the confession of Faith sent to *Flavianus* from Pope *Leo*, and that

that without the least difficulty or demurr, which argue that *Leo's* confession was sent to this end, that the Pope required the Bishops of *Constantinople* to subscribe to what he wrote there, to shew that they believed the Catholick Faith. [*Et Epistola similiter Catholica fidei quam ad sancta memoria Flavianum Episcopum tua Beatitudo decrevit, sine ulla dilatione subscripsit Anatolius*] The Emperresse writes thus. [*And he Anatolius, without any delay, subscribed to the Epistle of Faith, which thy blessedness directed to Flavianus*] Thirdly, whereas this Epistle or Confession of Faith, was sent as from a superiour, to be subscribed by those Patriarcks, that he might know whether they held the right Faith or no, and thereby judge whether he were to admit them into his communion (as was then the ordinary custome,) you would make it to be a confession sent as from an equal, to give them to whom he sent it, an account of his Faith. Fourthly whereas I speak of a confession, ordered by the Bishop of *Rome*, to be sent from the Bishop of *Constantinople* to him, that the Pope might thereby judge of his Faith: you in answer, return a confession of Faith, as freely sent from the Bishop of *Rome* to the Bishop of *Constantinople*, as though the Pope had given an account of his Faith to that Bishop, now all know it to be a rule of Faith, sent *vide verba Pulcheria*, by *Leo*, to which was required the *in ep. ad Leonem*. Bishop of *Constantinople* should subscribe, to shew that he held the same Faith with the Bishop of *Rome*, and thereby deserved to be received, as a Catholick into his communion. And lastly, you make that to be a confession of Pope *Leo's* faith made to *Anatolius*, when it was only a summe of the Catholick Faith. [*Epistola fidei Catholica*] in general, that those Bishops were to subscribe by the Popes order.

For

For this very same Epistle, in a Council held by the Popes legates in Constantinople, Council, called in Greek was sent by their order, to all the *codicibus post Afr. 41m.* Metropolitans in those parts, (as Pope Leo had given them order) to be subscribed by them.

CHAP. VI.

Council of Chalcedon.

ARGUMENT.

NUM 219. Mr. Baxters imposition upon his Adversary. *ibid.* The legates precedency how it proves the Popes Supremacy. Num. 221. Dioscorus not sitting as a Father in the Council shews the Bishop of Romes authority over the Council. Num. 222. Mr. Baxter put to desperate shifts, read these words, Caput omnium Ecclesiarum, that Rome is the head of all the Churches. Num. 223. The Councils not contradicting what the legates said, an undoubted sign of their assent. Num. 224. His weak answer, to the Councils calling the Pope their Father, and themselves his children. Num. 226. Mr. Baxter denies most confidently the Council of Chalcedon to say what it says most manifestly. Num. 227. Mr. Baxter dissembles his adversaries answer. Num. 231. Of what authority

city was the 28 canon of Chalcedon, in St. Leo's time, and after. Num. 132. General Councils never writ to exhort Bishops, and Patriarchs to confirm their decrees, in that manner as did the council of Chalcedon to the Pope. *ibid.* two sleights of Mr. Baxters discovered.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 219 You say the Popes Legates sat first in Council. Reply, what then? therefore the Pope was Governour of the Christian world, though not a man out of the Empire were of the Council. corruption.

William Johnson.

Num. 219. Your petty slights are grown so numerous that they become intolerable. An unskilful Reader would easily persuade himself, this consequence is mine, which you so confidently impose upon me here, viz: that I deduce, or ought to deduce from the Popes Legates sitting first in the Council, that the Pope was Governour of the Christian world though not a man out of the Empire were of that Council, as If I had granted and were agreed with you in this, that there was not a man out of the Empire in that Council, and supposing that as a truth with you, yet, that not withstanding, I draw the Popes universal supremacy from the precedency of the Legates in that Council. Now I pray you where have I in my whole paper, supposed, or delivered that there was not a man out of the Empire in that Council, name the place and cite the words where I say so, or acknowledge

ledge that you have imposed a most false injurious calumnie upon me. For you are not content to father your own error, (and so much your own, that you are the first and sole inventor of it) upon me, but upon that imposition you aske me in a bitter *Sarcasme*, *whether I be still in jest* ? that is, you put a consequence (as you esteeme it ridiculous) of your own forging upon me, and then aske me: *are you still in jest* ? is not this handsome ? yet I Sr, give me leave to tell you thus much, that though I had granted, (which I constantly deny) that not a man out of the Empire had been in the Council of *Chalcedon*, yet it would have been no jest, but a solid truth, that from the precedency of the *Roman Legates* in the Council, follows, that the Pope was governor of the Christian world, for it is necessary to the making of a Council truly and absolutely general, and powerful over the Christian world, that any Bishop out of the Empire should be actually present in it, it is sufficient that they be legitimately and Canonically called to it, as much as morally, all circumstances considered can be done ; their actual sitting in it, may be obstructed by a hundred accidents, dangers, impossibilities, which hinders not those who can, and do present themselves to compose a Council absolutely œcumenical, as a sufficient representative of the Church, no more then a Parliament legally summoned ceases to be a representative of the kingdome, though the Knights of some Counties, or Burgessees of some Cities be accidentally absent : prove therefore in your next, that for this reason, *that not a man out of the Empire was in that Council*, the Popes universal government over the Christian world followes not from his legates sitting first in it.

Mr.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 220. But if it must be so, then I can prove that others were the universal governours, because at Nice and other Councils they sat before the legates of the Pope, and in many his legates had no place. Is this argument good think you? O unfaithfull partiality in the matters of salvation, non proof.

William Johnson.

Num. 220. O, you can do wonders; but I would gladly see you doe, what you say you can do. You have not yet done it, and I cannot believe you can do't, till I see you have don't: there is a great difference, betwixt saying and doing. Your groundless exclamation I regard not, it is not partiality, what you call so, nor what you say you can prove to be so, prove it in your next to be partiality.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 221. You say they prohibited Dioscorus to sit by his order. Reply, 1. What then? therefore he was universal governour of the Church. All alike. Any accuser in a Parliament or Synod may require that the accused may not sit as Judge, till he be tried. fallacy 22.

William

William Johnson.

Num. 221. Your reply, is fallacious proceeding on
false supposito, Leo's order that *Dioscorus* should not sit in Council, was not
 because he was accused, but because he was condemned, nor was it a bare requiring, but a strickt command, and injunction that he should not sit there, as a Bishop of that Council.

p. 150. See the
 place cited in my
 p. 54. *Con Chal.*
 art. 3.

Mr. Baxter.

Num 222. 2. But did you not know that Leo's legates were not obeyed; but that the *Gloriosissimi iudices & amplissimus senatus* required that the cause should be first made known: and that it was not done till Eusebius Episcop. Dorylæi had read his bill of complaint? Binius Act. 1, pag. 5. Fallacy, 13.

William Johnson.

Num. 223. No really I know it not, nor I thinke you neither. You commit an other fallacy by an *ignotio elenchi*, the *Indices Gloriosissimi &c.*, and the complaint read against him by *Eusebius Epis. Dorylæi*, was not put as a remora to *Dioscorus* not sitting in the Council with the rest of the Fathers, but in order to his, and others publick condemnation, which with great applause of the whole Council, was performed in the end of the first action. So skilful are you in Church history, if you make not your self seem more unskilful then you are: to say something which may make a noise in the ears of the unlearned. It being therefore

therefore clear, that *Dioſcorus* was prohibited upon St. *Leo's* order to ſit in Council, It follows that he was univerſal Governour of the Church, *a paritate rationis (ut ſupra)* for if he had power to remove the cheif Patriarch of the Church, next after himſelf, from having an Episcopall vote in a general Council, (which was an act of abſolute jurisdiction over him :) much more had he power upon like grounds, to remove any other inferior Patriarch or Prelate, through the whole Church, there having been, no proof alledged by you, that this his power was limited to the ſole Empire, and I having now produced many reaſons, that there could be no ſuch limitation.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 223. *You ſay the Popes legates pronounced the Church of Rome to be Caput omnium Eccleſiarum, Reply, 1. What then? therefore he was Governour of all the Chriſtian world? I deny the conſequence. You do nothing but beg: not a word of proof, Caput was but membrum principale, the Patriarch primæ ſedis and that but in the Empire.*

William Johnson.

Num. 223. This conſequence is made ſtrong by the weakenes, of your reply. Is *Caput omnium Eccleſiarum*, the head of all Churches, no more with you, then the principal member of all Churches, in the Empire? that is, in your new theologie, one who was to take of all other Churches, without any true and proper authority over them? ſee you not in what ſtraits you are put? ſhould ſome new *Sabellian* or *Cerinthian* riſe up, and deny that our Saviour were any more then the cheif

chief person in the Church, that is, to take place before all others, but without any jurisdiction or authority over the whole Church; and a Catholick should labour to prove, he hath authority from that place of *St. Paul*, *Coloss. 1. 18. Ipse est Caput Corporis Ecclesie*, he is the head of his body the Church. And the *Sabellian* having read this book of yours "Should reply, as you
 "do here to me; what then? therefore Christ is gover-
 "nour of the Christian world? I deny this consequence
 "Caput is but *membrum principale*, head is no more
 "then the principal part &c. Would you not make pretty work with Scripture, and open a gap to every novellist to elude no less yours, then our proofs, for Christ's supreme government over his Church? but I see you care not whom you hurt, so you can but avoide the present stroak. Nay you have delivered here a precious doctrine, no lesse for your she citizens at *London*, then your good wives of *Kidderminster*, for when their husband teach them obedience and subjection to them from *St. Paul 1 Cor. 11. 3.* Where he sayes that *the husband is head of the wife*, they will have an answer ready at their fingers ends, from your doctrine here: *that, that head, is no more then the principal part of the family, in place, but not in authority over their wives*; nay you have spun a fair thred also, for the independency of the Protestant English Church of its head, in giving ground to take away all Authority from his sacred Majesty, and his royal predecessors over it in quality of heads of the English Church, and making them to have no more then a bare precedency in the Church: as no more then the principal members in the Church in order and dignity, but not in authority. But had you a little attended to those words of the Popes Legates, you might have discovered they were spoke by them to prove not
 the

the bare precedency in place, but sovereignty in authority, for they alleadge them, to corroborate the power of the *Roman Church*, as sufficient to prohibite the sitting of *Dioscorus* in the Council by vertue of Pope *Leo's* order. And you were prest as hard to finde an answer, for *omnium Ecclesiarum*, all Churches, that is to say, *non omnium*, not all, but only those within the Empire: thus you can make all, some, and the whole, a sole part, when you have nothing else to say: see you not how you give advantage to the *Manichees*, and *Menandrians* &c. who when, one should have prest them *John* 1. 2. That our Saviour is creatour of all things, they should have replied as you do, thar is not of all, but only of some things, not of bodies, but of spirit only. Are you a person fit to dispute in matters concerning conscience and salvation, when rather then not reply to what cannot in reason be answered, you will quite destroy the words opposed to you, by your glosse upon them, are not these desperate Intregues? But tis very strange that the ancient Councils, and Fathers when they call the *Roman Church Caput omnium Ecclesiarum*, head of all Churches, as they doe very familiarly, should allwayes according to you, mean no more then the Churches within the Empire, and yet should never signifie they mean no more then those: & if they ever doe signifie it, name the place and words in any one of them, and you shall be answered. As to the word, *Caput*, head, applied here to an original body. As *St. Paul* declares the Church to be, *1 Cor. 12. 12.* &c. it must not only have the propriety of being the highest part in the body, but also of having a power and capacity of governing and directing all the other parts, (as the head hath in natural bodies) whereby it is evident that the legates in stiling the *Roman Church* the head of all Churches, must

must be properly understood to mean, that the *Roman Church* hath not only the chief place, but the chief visible government, and direction also over all other particular Churches. Now *St. Paul* 1 *Cor.* 12. 21. Composing the Church of different organical parts, affirms that one amongst them is the *head*, and by *head* he cannot mean our Saviour, for he speaks of such a head, as cannot say to the feet, they are not necessary for it, which cannot be true of Christ; he must therefore mean a visible created head, which hath need of the inferior members, as they have of it.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 224. *The Popes legates were not the Council, nor judges in their own cause, and not opposing, signifies not alwaies a consent.*

William Johnson.

Num. 224. What if they were not the whole Council? at least they spoke those words to the whole Council, and I pretend no more. Why should they be Judges in their own cause; seeing it was in a matter which no man then in the whole Council, call'd in question or required that any new judgement should be given about it? what if *not opposing* signify, *not alwaies consent*? do I, or need I pretend that it *alwaies* doth so? it is sufficient for me that it argues consent here, for certainly considering the matter they propose touches deeply upon the privileges of the Fathers there assembled, had they not spoken a known and unquestionable truth, all the Fathers had been obliged to defend their liberties given them by our Saviour, and repress this injury done them by the legates in that expression: which seeing none
of

of them did, and yet every one had his full freedom to speak his minde, for the Emperour had then no particular affection to the Sea of *Rome*: it is an evident signe then, all held it for a received truth, so that it was the unanimous opinion and doctrine of the whole Council. All therefore which I affirm is this, that when any thing is publicly pronounced tending (as this did in your opinion) to the manifest and great disadvantage, of all those who hear it, some of them would contradict it; if therefore noe one amongst many hundreds present, offer to contradict it, it is a manifest signe, they conceived it no way injurious, or disadvantageous to them and therefore assented to it, as a most known, and undeniable truth in those dayes.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 225. *This Council doe as I said, expressly define the point, both what your Primacy is, and of how long standing, and of what institution; and that Constantinople on the same grounds, had equal priviledges.*

William Johnson.

Num. 225. This is already toucht and shall be more fully answered in its place.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 226. *You say, all the Fathers acknowledged themselves Leo's children, and wrote to him as their Father. Reply, Of this you give me not any proof, but leave me to read a 190 pages in folio, to see whether you say true or not; and what if you do, (as I believe you doe*

doe) can a man of any reading be ignorant how ordinarily other Bishops were stiled Fathers; even by their fellow Bishops as well as the Bishop of Rome.

William Johnson.

Num. 226. You are deeply plunged in difficulties; that you have no way to make a seeming escape, but by throwing your self out of one fallacy into another; my argument is grounded in *See Model, p. 197. acknowledging these words.* this, that the *Chalcedon* Fathers, call'd Pope *Leo* their Father, and themselves *his children*, and you might (as you did by printing it in a different character) easily perceive that the whole force of my argument, was grounded in those terms *their Father, his children*. Now you wholly dissemble the answer to this, and tell me, that ordinarily other Bishops were stiled Fathers, even by their fellow Bishops as well as the Bishop of *Rome*, which is a pure *redupli* to my argument for one may stile another Father, because he is Father to those who are his spiritual children in the Church, as all Bishops are in relation to their diocesans, Though their equals who writ to them, neither stile them, *their* Fathers, nor themselves *their* children, as the Fathers of this Council did here stile *Leo*, and themselves. Whereas you should have given an instance of some number or assembly of Bishops, stiling any one *their* Father, and themselves *his* children, to whom they were equal, and had no subjection to them, nor dependance in government of them: this you have not done, because you could not do it: whereby my argument hath received no solution from you, but remains in its full force against you. As concerning your pains of reading a 190 pages in folio, to finde out my citati-

X

on;

on, I take so much pains to have been needless, for I cite in my text the precise Epistle of that Council to Pope Leo, saying in their Letter to Pope Leo, which is not above two or three pages at most, nor was I obliged to cite it more punctually then I did.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 227. You add that they humbly begged of Justinian Patriarch of Constantinople might have the first place next Rome which notwithstanding the Council had consented to, as had also the third general Council at Ephesus before, yet they esteemed their grant as no sufficient force till they were confirmed by the Pope. Reply, So farre were the Council from what you falsely say of them, that they put it into their canons, that Constantinople should have the second place, yet and equal priviledges with Rome, and that they had also on the same grounds as Rome had its Primacy, even because it was the Imperial seate, vid. Bin. pag. 133. 134. col. 2.

William Iohnson.

Num. 227. I am sorry to see you in passion, and that so deeply, as to accuse my words of falsity, either without duely examining whether they were true or false, or (if you did examine the place I cite) quite against your conscience: for these expresse words stand in the Councils Epistle to Pope Leo, cited by me, where speak-

See Blondel. p. 997.
acknowledging these words.

ing of their canon about the priviledges of Constantinople they say, *rogamus igitur & tuis decretis nostram honora Judicium.* Therefore honor, we beseech you,

you,

you, our judgement also with your decree. Here therefore you wrong both your self and me, in affirming what I say to be false. To what you say about that other canon, I shall answer in the ensuing paragraph.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 228: You see then (contrary to your fiction) that three general Councils (of the greatest, likened by Gregory to the four Evangelists) not only judged without the Pope, but by your own confession against him (for you say he consented not.) Yea so much did they slight the Popes consent, that when his legates dissented, they were not heard: see Bin. p. 134. 136. They persisted in the Council to maintain their Canon 38 notwithstanding the contradiction of Lucretius and Paschasius.

William Johnson.

Num. 228. That there was a canon composed in behalf of the Bishops of Constantinople &c. I have acknowledged, and you acknowledge, I have acknowledged it here, when you print those words of mine, which notwithstanding the Council had consented to &c, but you dissemble my answer; for I contend, that whatsoever they concluded amongst themselves, without the knowledge and against the protestations of the Popes legates, they here submit to the Popes judgement and decree, and tell him, they enacted that Canon at Constantinople, grounding themselves upon a confidence they had, that (notwithstanding whatsoever his legates press against it) he himself would yield to it, as being a thing conceived by them to be very reasonable, *præsumētis*

mentes dñm noverimus quia quicquid reſtitutinis a filiis fit, ad Patres recurrit; facientes hoc ſibi proprium, preſuming (ſay they) *Seeing we know, that what is done juſtly by children recurrs to their Fathers, whomake it to be their own act; ſeeing therefore this whole canon, was both decreed out of a confidence that Pope Leo would conſent to it, and his conſent deſired by the Council, all you ſay here, either of thoſe Fathers reſiſting the legates, or perſiſting in the perſuance of that canon, is of no force to prove, that either they deſired not that his conſent, or the denyall of it break not the legality of that canon. Moreover when you affirm this council decreed without and againſt the Pope, you fall into another fallacy, for ſeeing (as I have now prov'd) thoſe Fathers proceeded to that decree, through confidence they ſhould obtain Leo's conſent, they cannot properly be ſaid to have done it without, much leſſe againſt his conſent: for they conceived themſelves to have a conſent preſumed, which is ſufficient when no more can be had to regulate humane actions; and though Leo thought fit to deny his conſent, yet that was after the canon was fram'd, for whilſt they formed it, they had hope he would conſent. I omit you call it the 38 canon when it is the 28, I ſuppoſe 'twas an errour in the print.*

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 229. And unanimouſly the whole Synod conſented, never ſtopping at the Roman diſſent. Pergaminus Biſhop of Antioch ſaith, in omnibus ſanctiſſimum Archiepiſcopum Regiæ civitatis novæ Romæ in honore & cura ſicut Patrem præcipuum habere nos convenit. No man contradicted this: and is not this as much or more, then you alledge as ſpoke to Leo?

William

William Johnson.

Num. 229. Will you not expose your self to the deep censure of a considering reader, when you say here the whole Synod consented, viz, to this 28 canon, having said but just now, they persisted in the council in maintaining the the 38 (28.) canon, notwithstanding the contradiction of *Lucretius*, and *Paschasius*, who were the Popes legates ; and were not they the two chief persons in the whole Council ? how then could the whole Council consent to it, when these two contradicted it ?

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 230. *They call Leo (you say) Father : And the Bishop of Constantinople is pronounced the chief Father in all things in honour and cure.*

William Johnson.

Num. 330. They call *Leo*, say I, *their* father and themselves *his* children, prove they have given such a title to the Bishop of *Constantinople*. *vide supra*. nor yet call they him *the* chief Father, for the words, *pater praeipuus*, may properly signifie, *a* chief Father, that is one of the chief Fathers of the Church, no, nor do they stile him absolutely a chief Father, but that he was to be honoured, *sicut pater praeipuus*, as a chief Father though he were not the chief above all.

Mr. Baxter.

231. *And Eusebius Bishop of Doryl. the chief adversary of Dioscorus witnessed that he himself, in the presence of the Clergy of Constantinople, did read this Canon to the Pope at Rome, and he received it; upon which your Historian hath no better an observation, then that either Eusebius lyed, or else at that hour he deceived Leo.*

William Johnson.

Num. 231. Why cite you not your Author for this story? sure there's some reason so'tt best known to your self, no wise man would be thought Author of so fond a Fable. First the thing it self is wholly improbable (unless you suppose *Leo* to have been of an unconstant brain) for he expressly rejects it in his answer to the Synodical Epistle; and secondly, to tell it as you do, that in the presence of the Clergy of *Constantinople*, *Eusebius* read this Canon to the Pope of *Rome*, will seem ridiculous, seeing that by the Clergy of *Constantinople* is properly to be understood, either all the Clergy, or almost all, for had you meant only a small part of it, you would have said, in presence of some of the Clergy, &c. of *Constantinople*; and not absolutely in presence of the Clergy of *Constantinople*, think you that almost the whole Clergy of *Constantinople* left their own Church without divine service or Government to go with *Eusebius*; an ordinary Bishop of *Rome*? But that which makes this story as you tell it, not only false, but impossible is this, that what *Eusebius* said, was either before, or whilst this Canon was decreeing, *Eusebius* being then present in the Council; so that he must have
ci-

either read it at *Rome* to *Leo* before it was made, or in the time whilst it was decreeing, being then himself not at *Rome*, but at *Chalcedon*. All therefore that he could have said to *Leo*, was about the Canon of the 2. general Council at *Constantinople*, something like to this, which was not approved neither by two, nor by any of his Predecessors: So that Cardinal *Peron* had reason to affirm the relation of this *Eusebius* to be false, because *Leo* was so far from confirming either of these Canons, that he expressly rejects them in his answer to the Synodical Epistle from *Chalcedon*.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 233. *It's true that the Synod writ to him for his Consent, but not as suspending any of their decrees on it; but telling him over and over, that the things were by them defined and confirmed already. pag. 140.*

William Johnson.

Num. 232. What mean you, by *not suspending any of their decrees*? that they rased them not out of the records wherein they were writ, that's true, but not to our purpose, or mean you, they desisted not from proceeding practically in conformity to them, as esteeming them absolutely and completely obligatory, whether the Pope yielded consent to them or no; that's not true. For to what purpose used they so many reasons and persuasions, so earnest entreaties, *Rogamus, signatur*, we beseech thee vouchsafe most blessed Father to imbrace them, &c. had they not thought his consent necessary to the confirmation of them? and that this very 28. had not the authority of a legitimate Canon of that Council

cil (as having been secretly and illegally framed, neither the Judges nor Synode nor Popes Legates being present at it, and very many Bishops, especially those of *Alexandria*, being departed, as *Blundel* acknowledges, pag. 966. and *Leo* refusing to confirm it) is witnessed by *Theodoret* who was present in the Council, by *Diosyphus exiguus*, and *Theodorus* Lector, and the rest both Latins and Greeks who writ the Ecclesiastical History in that age, and it is your task to quote some of them who inserted it into the number of the Canons of *Chalcedon*; so that it was excluded (and thereby at least suspended) from being numbred with the other Canons of that Council, till many years after, which happily might have given occasion to St. *Gregory*, of saying, that the Council of *Chalcedon* in one place was falsified by the Church of *Constantinople*, nor can it be found to have been cited as a true Canon of *Chalcedon* before the *Trullan* Conventicle, mentioned it as one of them, which was assembled a hundred and forty years after the council of *Chalcedon*,

CHAP. VII.

Agapet, Anthymus, St. Cyril, Nestorius,

ARGUMENT.

NUM 233. *Whether Pope Agapets deprivation of Anthymus Bishop of Constantinople were unjust.* NUM. 236. *Mr. Baxter is put to another desperate shift to avoid the force of Pope Gre-*

Gregorie the great's words. Num. 140. St. Cyril, and Nestorius acknowledge the Popes Supremacy. Num. 241. Celestines condemning Nestorius, proves his universal authority. Num. 242. No National, nor Patriarchal Synode, is of force to oblige any out of that Nation or Patriarchate, where it is celebrated. Num. 245. Whether St. Cyril Patriarch of Alexandria, and President in the first Ephesine Council, or Mr. Richard Baxter, Minister of Kidderminster be the wiser? Num. 246. A shreefold corruption of his Adversaries words. Num. 247. Another corruption of his Adversaries argument. Num. 248. Mr. Baxters Prophecie. Num. 250. and Num. 252. His instances inapposite. Num. 254. He slights the Council of Chalcedon.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 233. *That which they desired of him was, what Synodes ordinarily did of Bishops of their Communion that were absent; hæc sicut propria, & amica, & ad decorem convenientissima, dignare complecti, sanctissime & beatissime pater.* Non-proof 23.

William Johnson.

Num. 233. Here's another of your Non-proofs, shew if you can that Oecumenical Councils, such as this at Chalcedon was, did ordinarily beseech, *rogamus*, and entreat other Bishops to yeeld to what they had decreed,

as did here this Council *St. Leo*, in this their Epistle to him. General Councils understood the extent of their authority too well, to beg of any Patriarch, save him of *Rome*, to yeeld consent to their decrees, for they esteemed them all obliged to assent to them, when they were approved by the *Roman* Bishop, as appears both in this Council by the Emperours writing to all Churches, to know whether they consented to it, and their punishing *Diofcorus* the first, and *John of Antioch* the second *deftias*, in first Oriental Patriarch, and the like in that of *Ephesus* in condemning *Nestorius*, &c.

But you use a petty sleight or two here ; first, you say they write to *Leo*, for his consent in the former Paragraph, not specifying the manner of their writing, and thereby leaving your Reader an occasion to think, they might write by way of command or exaction, (for there are very different manners of writing one to another) whereas I have declared their writing to *Leo*, to have been by humble requests and intreaties ; and then in this Paragraph, you say Councils ordinarily writ to Bishops in the same manner as this Council did to *Leo*, not expressing what Councils you mean. For if you speak of such Councils as were accounted in their respective times, only National or Provincial ; 'tis true, they might entreat other Patriarchs and Bishops to give their approbation of them, but that's a stranger to our present matter : if of general Councils which is only in question, you should not have supposed but proved it. Such minute underminings as these will gain you no great credit.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 233. *In your Margin you tell me that Agapet in the time of Justinian deposed Arithymus in Constantinople against the will of the Emperour and the Empress. Reply. And doth it follow, that because he did it, therefore he did it justly, yea, and as the Governour of that Church? when Menna Bishop of Constantinople excommunicated Pope Vigilius, was he not even with him? and did that prove that Rome was subject unto Constantinople? Niceph. l. 17. c. 26. when Dioscorus excommunicated Leo, and an Eastern Synode excommunicated Julius (Zozom. l. 3. c. 11.) that proves not that they did it justly, or as his Governours. Honorius the Emperour deposed Boniface. Otho with a Synode deposed Johan. 13. Justinian deposed Sylverius and Vigilius: will you confess it therefore justly done, as to the History I refer you to the full answer of Blondel to Perron. cap. 25. sect. 84, 85. usurpation and deposing one another by rash sentences was then no rare thing. Eusebius of Nicomedia threatened the deposing of Alexander of Constantinople, who sure was not his subject. Socrat. lib. 1. c. 37. (vel 25.) Acacius of Casarea and his party depose not only Elenus, Basilus, and many other, but with them also Macedonius Bishop of Constantinople, Socrat. lib. 2. c. 33. (vel 42.) did this prove Acacius the Vice-Christ? what should I instance in Theophilus actions against Chrysostome, or Cyrils against Johan. Antiochen. and many such like.*

Wil.

William Johnson.

Num. 234. What will not obstinacy do, rather than yeeld? hitherto you have laboured to evade all the Instances I brought against you, as insufficient to prove the Bishops of Rome did any act of true jurisdiction over the other Patriarchs, and Bishops of the East Church. Now seeing this act cannot be pretended, not to shew an exercise of power and jurisdiction over

the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, you confess the fact to be an act of power and superiority, but alleadge it was unjust, that is, above the power of the Roman Bishops: and then to make your plea good, you demand this question of me, *and doth it follow, that because he did it, therefore he did it justly?* and that done, to prove that consequence null, you instance in many, who excommunicated both Popes and other Bishops unjustly. But see you not a wide disparity? those whom you instance, were condemned by such as were contemporary with them, for having proceeded unjustly in those excommunications, &c. And this you, and all who have learning know to be true. But where can you find any classick Author, or credible Record about those times, which condemned this act of *Agapet* against *Anthimus* as unjust; nay, they are so far from having condemned it, that they highly praise him and extol him for it. Thus *Justinian. Novel. 42.* saies, *it was done by the most holy Bishop of old Rome, Agapet, of most holy and glorious memory;* and the Council gathered presently after by *Agapets* appointment, say, they follow the injunctions of that most holy Pope
in

in depriving *Anthymus* (not *Arishymus* as you miscall him) of his Bishoprick of *Trebisonde*, and of all Offices and Dignities Ecclesiastical; hence all your instances appear so many disparities to our present case, yet would I insist upon them, you have no small number of flaws in them. v. g. where have you read that *Mennas* excommunicated *Vigilius*? I wonder to see you cite *Nicophorus* for it, whose authority you your self rejected, p. 151. what actions mean you of *Cyril* against *Iohn* of *Antioch*? were they depositions, deprivations, excommunications, &c. such as those of *Agaper*, were against *Anthymus*? if so, why prove you them not? if not, why make you mention of them? Beside, was not *St. Cyril*, as I have proved, made Legate in the East by *Pope Celestine*?

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 235. *Still you suppose one Empire to be all the Christian world: we must grant you that in all your instances.*

William Johnson.

Num. 245. Still you are so short sighted, that you cannot reach to the force of an argument grounded in *paritate rationis*. I suppose no such matter, as that one Empire is the whole Christian world, 'tis your imposition, but I argue thus, the Bishop of *Rome* exercised, and that justly, spiritual jurisdiction over all the Provinces and Patriarchates within the Empire, and that before any general Council was assembled, to confer such a power upon him, alwayes alleading, both by himself, and other holy Bishops of antient times, that this
power

power issued primarily from his being successor to St. Peter, to whom Christ gave the keys of his Church absolutely, as well without as within the Empire, consequently it was in no mans power to restrain it to the sole Empire, *ergo* he had as much power to excommunicate, depose, or deprive any Bishop without the Empire (when occasions were given to exercise that power) as he had through the whole Empire. Now you only trifle, in telling me so often, that I make the Empire the whole Christian world; I do not that, but draw this consequence, the Bishop of *Rome* exercised jurisdiction through the whole Empire as my instances demonstrate, and there is no sufficient reason to restrain that power within the precincts of the Empire; *ergo à paritate rationis*, for the same reason, that power extends it self to all Christian Churches out of the Empire. It is therefore your part, to shew such a reason for restraining his power within the Verge of the Empire, otherwise you suppose without reason it is limited to the Empire, not I, that it exceeds the Empire.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 236. *For what you alleadge from Gregory, I shall give you enough of him anon for your satisfaction, if you will be indifferent. As to your citation what can I say? A years times were little enough to search after your citations, if you should thus write but many more sheets (if a man had so much time and so little wit as to attend you). You turn me to Gregory, c. 7. ep. 63. but what book, or what indiction you tell me not: but whatever it be, false it must needs be, there being no one book of his Epistles (according to all the Editions that I have seen) where c. 7. and ep. 63. do agree*

or

or meet together; but at last I found the words in lib. 7. c. 63. ep. 63.

William Johnson.

Num. 236. The error is in the Copist, for in a draught of mine I have it twice, lib. 7. ep. 63. as you found it, and you might easily have discovered it to be the error of an *Ammensis*, for sure that 7. chap. must have been of some book or other.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 237. To which I say, that either your great Gregory, by subject, meant that the Bishop of Constantinople was of an inferior order, as the Patriarch of Alexandria and Antioch were to Constantinople, that yet had no government of them, or else he could say and unsay; but I doubt not but this was all his sense.

William Johnson.

Num. 237. I see you were sore prest with this authority, when it puts you upon so desperate glosses. Are you really in earnest? did you ever read that the word (*subjectus*) subject, related to that which is above, can properly signifie no more then of an inferior order? the Lord Mayor of York is of an inferior order, or ranke to the Lord Mayor of London, is he therefore subject to him? I see you would again preach pleasing things to your good wife of Kidderminster, for when they read in St. Peter 1 Pet. 3. 5. that wives should be subject to their husbands, they will have learnt from this

this book of yours, that *subiect* signifies only one of an inferiour ranke, not that their husbands should have any government over them. But for all this it signifies here, say you, no more then one of an inferiour order who has no government over the other : and why so ? why : *you your self doubt not but this was all his sense*, nay, if *you* doubt not of it, I have done ; that must needs be enough to make it certain, are you serious when you trifle thus ? yet at all adventures, if haply you misse in this congruous construction, you have another turne to save your self, for if St *Gregory* truly meant, *subiect*, (as all the world meanes it) *for being under the power and government of an other*, then you say that *Gregory* sayes, and unsayes ? it seems you have some particuler pique against him, because he converted our Nation from heathenisme to popery ; (as you terme the *Roman* religion :) are not you the first that ever accused the great St. *Gregory*, *to say, and unsay* ? but as to the word it self *subiect*, *subiectus*, being derived, from *sub*, under and *jaceo*, to ly down, it cannot signifie only not to be so high as is another, or to be of an inferiour ranke, quality, order, or place, but to ly under him, or at his feet, which signifies that the other hath power over him, for *subiectus alteri*, subject to another, is *jactus sub altero* cast under another, or under the power or command of another, and I would gladly know, what one latin word signifies more cleerly that any one is under the government of another, then does the word *subiectus* subject ; a good subject to his sacred Majesty, should mean no more then you say is here meant by *subiect*, that you are of an inferiour order to his Majesty, and content he shall take place of you, but withal deny he has any power over you, were not he likely to be well serv'd by such subjects ? but sure, you might have discovered.

discovered, had you read his words attentively that, St. Gregory could not mean a subjection only of inferiority in order, and not in government, for he sayes, in another place if there be any fault committed by Bishops, I know no Bishop, which is not subject to the Apostolical Sea, but if the fault require it not, according to the reason of humility wee are all equal. See you not the subjection which he asserts here, is grounded in the delicts or faults of Bishops, and is not that, in order to correction, reprehension, and punishment for those faults? and must not that proceed from power of government, and authority over them? is not this evident? nor can he speak in the first part of this sentence of a subjection of order only, for he affirms, that supposing there be no fault, the Bishop of *Rome* is the first Patriarch in order through the whole Church, and consequently the rest unequal in ranke and place, that is subject to him in your sense, he must therefore mean another subjection besides that, when he saith they are subject by reason of their faults; would it not be ridiculous if the Mayor of *London* shoul write thus, because all other Mayors are inferiour to him in order; if any fault be committed by the Mayors of this Kingdome, I know none of them all, who is not subject to the Mayor of *London*, but if no fault require it, in humility we are all equal. I hope by this time you will have cause to doubt whether your sense be the sense of St. Gregory here, or no?

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 238. *But if it had been otherwise, Constanti-
nople and the Empire was not all the Christian world.*

Y

Williams

William Johnson.

Num. 238. This seemes to be the burthen of your song, but I have shewed you just now that its quite out of the tune.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 239. *Your next citation is lib. 7. epist. 37. but its falsly cited : there is no such word ; and you are in so much haste for an answer, that I will not read over all Gregories epistles.*

William Johnson.

Num. 239. There is an errour in the figures, it should be *lib. 7. ep. 64.* where you'l finde what I cite. And that very reason which you alleadge, for not reading over St. *Gregories* epistles, *viz.* hasting for an answer, pleads the excuse of my friends, in sending my answer away to you, before I could return to town, and read it over, to wit your importunity for a speedy answer.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 240. *You say that Cyril would not break of communion with Nestorius till Celestine had condemned him ; of this you gixe us no proof.*

William Johnson.

Num. 240. Doe I not ? looke in the Margin p. 56.
in

in your edit. lit. o. you'l finde the proof of it cited there. I see you use not to read the places cited by your adversary, otherwise you could not but have seen the proof of what I say in *Cyrils* epistle to *Celestine*.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 241. *But what if it be true? did you think to prove the Pope to be the vice-Christ? prudence might well make Cyril cautelous in excommunicating a Patriarch. And we still grant you, that the order of the Empire had given the Roman Bishop the Primacy therein; and therefore no wonder if his consent were expected.*

William Johnson.

Num. 241. Yes indeed I really thought so (if you understand by vice-Christ, no more then what we ascribe to the Pope) otherwise I would never have prest that instance to prove it. And as really tooke I the writing of two and those (as you would have it) the cheif Patriarchs of the *Eastern Church*, to the Pope of *Rome*, the one to have his doctrine censured, that is either allowed or condemned by the Pope, the other to have the Popes authority for himself and the rest of the *Eastern Bishops*, whether *Nestorius* his doctrine were formal heresie, and they oblig'd to avoid communion with him; this I tooke to be a forcible argument to prove the Pope to be a vice-Christ, if you mean as we doe, no more, then this by it, that he is the supream visible governour of the whole Christian militant Church in the place of Christ: and truly I am in the same minde still, for all you have brought against it. Is it think you

Y 2

probable

probable, that *Nestorius* would have written to *Celestine*, and required his authority for the approbation of his doctrine, had he esteemed him to have no more power over him, then the Mayor of *London* hath over the Mayor of *York* ? nor was the question propounded by *St. Cyril* about a positive excommunication of *Nestorius* (as you misconceiv'd) but onlie a non-communion with him as you presently acknowledge.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 242. *But that Nestorius was condemned by a Council needs no proof : and what if Celestine began and first condemned him. Is he therefore the universal Bishop?*

William Johnson.

Num. 242. Yes, he is so, (as universal Bishop may be understood,) For if the condemnation of him in the *Ephesine* Council in conformity to the Popes precedent censure, argu'd an universal authority in that council over the whole Church, (as all both Catholics and Protestants, you only excepted acknowledg) much more the primacy, and original condemnation of his doctrine argu'd an universal authority in *Celestine*.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 243. *But it was not Celestine alone, but a Synod of the Western Bishops.*

William

William Johnson.

Num. 243. This is answered above, where you put the same reply. No national or patriarchal Council, can upon their sole authority, oblige the rest of the Patriarchs, as this did.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 244. *And yet Cyril did not hereupon reject him without further warning.*

William Johnson.

Num. 244. But that warning was ordered by *Celestine* as I have proved p. 56. in your edit.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 245. *And what was it that he threatened? but to hold no communion with him.*

William Johnson.

Num. 245. And was that in your account a matter of smal moment? you may please to take notice, that the Bishop of *Rome's* denial to receive any one into his communion, or the subtracting himself from communicating with them, was in those dayes, an undoubted marke of their being cast out of the Church, and that no Catholick Bishop was to excommunicate, or to permit any under his charge to communicate with them, as is proved at large in *Schisme unmaskt*, or the conference

with Dr. *Gunning*. For the rule to know with whom every one was, or was not to communicate, was their Communion or non-communication with the Roman Bishop.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 246. *And though pride made excommunication an Engine to advance one Bishop above others, I can easily prove, that if I had then lived, it had been my duty to avoid Communion with a notorious Heretick, though he had been Pope.*

William Johnson

Num. 246. We have had essays enough, of what you can do : I see you are much wiser and learned than was St. *Cyrl*, who presided in the *Ephesine* Council. He would be first informed from Pope *Celestine*, whether *Nestorius* his opinion were Heresie or no, before he avoided him ; you, if you had liv'd in his time, would have taken a wiser course, and have had nothing to do with never a *Celestine* of them all, but upon your own judgement avoided him. And yet you thought just now, that prudence made St. *Cyrl* so cautelous, as to proceed as he did, and if it were prudence in him, what was it think you that mov'd you to proceed otherwise? yet you, even in what you say here, mistake grossly the state of the question : which is not whether every one was then bound to avoid a *notorious Heretick*, for none are notorious Heretiques but such as are sufficiently declared to be so by the Church, and the very same authority which declared them, obliged every one to avoid them, but what was here questioned was
this,

this, whether private men upon their particular judgement, when a novelty ariseth, not yet expressly condemned by the Church, are to avoid the maintainers of it as Heretiques, before they be declared to be so by publique authority of those who have power to judge them and their doctrine?

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 247. *The long story that you next tell, is but to fill up paper, that Cyril received the Popes letters, that Nestorius repented not that he accused Cyril, that Theodosius wrote to Celestine about a Council, and many such impertinent words.* 2. Non-proofs. 3. Corruption of my words.

William Johnson.

Num. 247. Here are more of your non-proofs, all belike is impertinent, which you call so; had I indeed said no more then what you make me say here, I had been impertinent; look upon p. 56. your Edit. and you'll find another story; I say there, that *Celestines* letters to *Cyril* were to execute Nestorius his condemnation, and to send his condemnatory letters unto him; this you dissemble, which only makes the Epistle of *Celestine* to be a proof of his power over St. *Cyril*, the first of the three Patriarchs; before I related there the repentance of *Nestorius*, I say p. 57. in your Edit. that *Celestine* had given order in his letters to *Cyril*, to send *Celestines* condemnatory letters to *Nestorius*; this also you dissemble, which is not withstanding a strong proof against you, and you make me say no more, then that *Nestorius* repented not, never mentioning the occasion

sion given him to repent. Then you say, I write that *Theodosius* writ to *Celestine* about a Council, neither declaring as I do, p. 57. that it was the *general Council of Ephesus*, nor mentioning Pope *Celestines* answer, both consenting to the assembling that general Council, and prescribing the manner how he would have it celebrated, which was my proof of *Celestines* Sovereign authority, nor say you any thing of *Celestines* order given to his Legates, that the Council should not again examine the cause of *Nestorius*, but without any farther examination, put his precedent condemnation of him, in execution : All this, that is all the force of my proofs you handsomly conceal, and foisting in non-proofs of your own making in place of my proofs ; and all this done, you say my words are *impertinent* ; in what School of conscience learn't you these duplicities ?

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 248. *But the proof is, that Cyril was the Popes chief Legate ordinary, forsooth, because in his absence he was the chief Patriarch, therefore he is said, Celestini locum tenere, which he desired. Corruption.*

William Johnson.

Num. 248. No, that's neither my argument, nor the reason of his being Legate ; my argument is this p.

Con. Ephes. impres. Heidelberg. c. 16. ibid. c. 17. ibid. c. 18. ibid. c. 65. Concil. Ephes. c. 15. Marci. Comes in chron. Librat. in brev. c. 5. Balsam. in nomo. can. Prosp. in chron. Id. contra collatorem

58. your edit. *Cyril being constituted by Celestine his chief Legate ordinary in the East, &c.* and that before the Council of *Ephesus* was begun, or indicted ; now his being con-

constituted so by Celestine, you again dissemble, making me say only, that he was the Popes chief Legate ordinary (that is, as you would have it) by vertue of his being the first Patriarch of the East, not by Pope Celestines institution; whence appears you have given no answer to my argument, but miserably mangled it, because you could not answer it. For sure Pope Celestine neither made Cyril in that letter Patriarch of Alexandria, for he was so before; nor that Patriarch the chief in the Eastern Church, for he was declared to be so long before the Council of Nice: but by vertue of a particular order, constituted Cyril his Legate ordinary, as he might have done any other Patriarch, had he pleased.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 249. *Well, let your Pope sit highest, being he so troubles all the world for it. Christ will shortly bid him come down lower, when he humbleth them that exalt themselves.*

William Johnson.

Num. 249. This is not replying, but prophesying, and would better become an exclamation in a Country Pulpit, then a reply in Controversie. It had been timely enough to use such Phanaticismes as these, after you had either prov'd unanswerably the Pope exalted himself too high: or answered fully and cleerly, the arguments which prove he hath not.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 250. *That Cyril subscribed before Philip,*
20th

you may see, Tom. 2. cap. 23. but where I may find that Philip subscribed first, you tell me not.

William Johnson.

Num. 250. When I cited the sixth action immediately after those words, you might have gathered that subscription, (as it is) to have been in the fifth.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 251. *But what if the Arch-bishop of Canterbury /ate highest, and subscribed first in England? doth it follow that he was Governour of all the world? no, nor of York it self neither.*

William Johnson.

Num. 250. No. It follows not, because such a Council would be only National, not General as that of *Ephesus* was; but it would follow according to the ancient Canons, that the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* presiding as Primate of the English Church, had power in Government over the Bishop of *York* in some cases, as all true Primates have over all the Bishops and Metropolitans within their Primacies.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 252. *And here you tell us of Juvenal, Aët. 6. Reply. 1. The Council is not divided into Aëtis in Binius, but many Tomes and Chapters: but your words are in the Notes added by your Historian; but how to prove them Juvenal's words I know not, nor find in him or you.*

William Johnson.

Num. 252, I think you would infuse the spirit of Prophecy into me too, how should I know otherwise, you had the Councils in no other Edition save that of *Bisnins*? I cited the sixth action of the Council, which is an usual citation and full enough, look into that action, and you'll find it, in the Edition of *Paulus Quintus*.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 253. *But why were not the antecedent words of the Bishop of Antioch and his Clergy, as valid to the contrary as Juvenal's for this?*

William Johnson.

Num. 253. Because *Juvenal* was a known Catholic Bishop, and consented to the council, and *John of Antioch*, with his complices, were favourers of *Nestorius*, restorers of the *Pelagian* Heresie, and open Schismatiques, celebrating a conventicle against the *Ephesine* council.

*Liberat. in brev. c. 4.
act. Ephes. Tom. 1. c. 21.
act. Ephes. Tom. 3. c. 1.
Evag. c. 5. & all.*

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 254. *If these words were spoken, they only import a judging in Council as a chief member of it, and not of himself.* Non-proof 14.

Wil.

William Johnson.

Num. 254. Yes sure, it must needs be so, because you say 'tis so, shall we never have an end of your non-proofs? what kinde of Council mean you? a general Council? that was never thought necessary for the Roman Bishops censuring of others; a particular? that could have no juridical authority out of the Western Church, *ergo* the power of judging out of the Western Patriarchate, was only in the Pope.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 255. *And his Apostolica ordinatione is expressly contrary to the fore-cited Canon of the Council of Chalcedon, and therefore not to be believed. Non-proof.*

William Johnson.

Num. 255. Still more non-proofs, why is it expressly contrary? why? you say 'tis so; I deny it to be contrary, that's as good as your affirmation. I have explicated that Canon of *Chalcedon* above, and made it consonant to these words of *Juvenal*. But what if it were contrary? I have also shewed the uncanonicalness, and illegality of that Canon. But at least, you cannot deny that I have brought one instance here, that the Popes authority over a Patriarch, was by Apostolical ordination. Is it not manifest, by this your answer? that you slight the Council of *Chalcedon*, in granting in one Session, to approve of *Juvenal's* sayings, and in another to contradict them.

Mr.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 256. *Yet some called things done ordinatione Apostolica, which were ordained by the seats which were held Apostolick. Non-proof 25.*

William Johnson.

Num. 256. Some ? which some ? why say you *some*, and name none ? nor prove any : still more and more non-proofs.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 257. *But still you resolve to forget that Antioch or the Empire, extended not to the Antipodes, nor contained all the Catholick Church.*

William Johnson.

Num. 257. Your burthen must still bear up the Song, we have had enough of that already. Shew some solid reason, why the Pope had rather power over the Church and Patriarch of *Antioch*, then over all other Prelates and Churches, and you say something.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 258. *You next tell me of Valentinians words, A.D. 445. Reply. It is the most plausible of all your testimonies, but worth nothing to your end ; for 1. Though Theodosius's name pro forma, were as it, yet it was only Valentinians act, and done at Rome, where Leo prevail-*
ed

ed with a raw unexperienced Prince to ¹ word the Epistle as he desired ; so that it is rather ² Leo's then the Emperours original: 13. Non-proofs more, noted in figures in the Text. ³ And Leo was the first that attempted the excessive advancement of his seat above the rest of the Patriarchs. 2. It is known that the Emperours sometime gave the Primacy to Rome, and sometime to Constantinople, as they were pleased or displeased by each of them. So did Justinian, who A.D. 530. Lampadio & Oreste Coss. C. de Episcopis lib. 1. lege 24. saith, Constantinopolitana Ecclesia omnium aliarum est Caput : The Church of Constantinople is the head of all other. 3. It is your fiction, and not the words of Valentinian (or Leo) that the succession from Peter was the foundation of Romes Primacy. It was then believed that Antioch and other Churches had a succession from Peter. It is the merit of Peter, and the dignity of the City of Rome, and the authority of the Synode jointly that he ascribeth it to. The ⁴ merit of Peter was nothing but the motive upon which Leo would have men believe the Synode gave the Primacy to Rome : And Hofius in the Council of Sardica, indeed useth that as his motive, Let us for the honour of Peter, &c. They had a conceit, that where Peter last preached, and was martyred and buried, and his relicks lay, there he should be most honoured. 4. Here is not the least intitation, that this Primacy was by Gods appointment, or the Apostles, but the Synodes : nor that it had continued so from Peters dayes, but that jointly for Peters merits (and honour) and the Cities dignity, it was given by the Synode. 5. And it ⁶ was but Leo's fraud to perswade the raw Emperour of the authority of a Synode, which he would not name, because the Synode of Sardica ⁷ was in little or no authority in those dayes. The rest of the

reasons were fraudulent also, which though they prevailed with this ¹ Emperour, yet they took not in the East. And Leo himself it seems durst not pretend to a divine right and ² institution, nor to a succession of Primacy from the Apostles. 6. But nothing is more false then your assertion, that he extendeth the power over the whole visible Church; The word universitas, is all that you translate in your Comment, the whole visible Church. As if you knew not that there was a Roman universality, and that Roman Councils were called universal, when no Bishops out of that one Common-wealth were present. and that the Church in the Empire ¹⁰ is oft called the whole Church, yea, the Roman world was not an unusual. And I pray you tell me, what power Valentinian had out of the Empire? who yet interposeth his authority there, Neque præter auctoritatem sedis istius illicitum, &c. & ut pax ubique servetur. And in the end, it is all the Provinces, that is, the university that he extends his precepts to. 7. And for that annexed, that without the Emperours letters, his authority was to be of force through France, (for what shall not be lawful, &c.) I answer. No wonder, for France was part of his Patriarchate, and the Laws of the Empire had confirmed his Patriarchal power, and those Laws might seem with the reverence of Synodes, without new letters to do much: But yet it ¹¹ seems, that the rising power needed this extraordinary secular help: Hilary it seems with his Bishops thought, that even to his Patriarch he owed no such obedience as Leo here by force exacteth. So that your highest witness (Leo by the mouth of Valentinian) is for no more then a Primacy, with a swelled power in the Roman universality: but they never ¹² meddled with the rest of the Christian world: It seems by all their writings and ¹³ attempts, this never came into their thoughts.

Wil-

William Johnson.

Num. 258. In this paragraph you have no less than a bakers dozen of non proofs, I have noted them by figures in your text, let them be prov'd, and then they shall be answered, till then they deserve no answer. To what has any seeming ground or proof, I answer. First it imports little whether *Theodosius* had any hand in this Epistle or no, I say nothing of him in my text, p. 59. 60. 61. Secondly Your proof from *Justinian* is already answered in my observation made upon p. 174. of your key, only I see you have mended your citation, and put *lib.* in place of *lege* 3. Must it needs follow that it is my fiction? because it is not the words of *Valentinian*, that *the succession from St. Peter is the foundation of Romes primacy*. May not a *medium* be given betwixt those two extremes, what if it were the true sense of *Valentinians* words? it was then neither his words, nor my fiction, but a true interpretation of his words; and that it is so, is manifest, for there must be some reason sure, why the merit of *St. Peter*, conferr'd a primacy rather upon the Bishop of *Rome*, then upon any other Bishop, but none can be imagined, save this, that the Bishops of *Rome* succeeded *St. Peter* in the see of *Rome*, ergo it must be that succession, or nothing. You seem to say, that *because St. Peter last preached, and was martyred, and buried, and his relicks lay there he should be most honoured*, and by, honoured, you must mean, as *Hofius* cited by you here, and *Valentinian* doe, in the power acknowledged in the Bishops of *Rome*. But this cannot subsist, for *St. Paul* preached last at *Rome* also, was martyred, and buried, and his relicks lay there, yet no authors say, the primacy of the *Roman* Bishops

Bishops was founded in *St. Paul's* merits, now no reason can be given of this, save that which I gave, viz, that the *Roman* Bishops succeed not to *St. Paul*, as they doe to *St. Peter*, because *St. Paul* was never Bishop of *Rome*, as *St. Peter* was. What you say of the succession from *St. Peter* in *Antioch*, avails nothing; for he, having deserted the Bishoprick of *Antioch* in his life time, and transferr'd his seate to *Rome*, were he dyed Bishop of the *Roman* see, was to have his proper successor there; for by transferring his see to *Rome*, he transferr'd the dignity of Primacy of the Episcopal crown, (as *Valentinian* sayes there) appropriated to him, and took it from *Antioch*, and by dying Bishop of *Rome* left it there to his successors; whence appears that the Bishop of *Antioch* was a successor to *St. Peter*, as were other Bishops, but no successor to his supereminent dignity and primacy over the Church, because so long as *St. Peter* lived, it could not descend upon any other. Fourthly, I deny not, that he ascribes the establishment of *Rome's* primacy to those three, *St. Peter*, the city and the Synod; yet he makes the first foundation of it, the dignity of *St. Peter*, and therefore prefixes it before the other two, and that it may appear he makes this the first and fundamental reason, and not the Synod, he adds these words, *hac cum fuerint haëtenu inviolabiter custodita*, since these things (*i. e.* that nothing of great concern should be done without the authority of the *Roman* see) have been hitherto inviolably observ'd; for if the Synod had conferr'd that dignity to the Bishop of *Rome*, he could not have said with truth, that those things had been alwayes observ'd, for before the Synod which gave it, which was three hundred years and more after the resurrection of our Saviour, they were observed: seeing therefore they were alwayes observed, that power

& authority must have been, in the Bishop of Rome long in being before those Synods were celebrated. Now how the dignity of the *Roman* city concurr'd to this primacy I have above declared, whence appears, the loud untruth which you pronounce, *n. 4.* Here is not the least intimation that this primacy was but by the appointment of the Synod, nor that it had continued so from St. Peters dayes. Since you use not to read over the texts which are brought against you, I pray you what signifie these words, *hec cum fuerint hactenus inviolabiliter observata*, these things have been *hitherto* inviolably observed, what signifies *hitherto*, but from St. Peters time to his? Your guess at the Synod of *Sardica*, as aimed at by *Valentinian*, though say you it was of little credit in those dayes (which I have numbred amongst your non-proofs,) is a pure mistake; for the Synod he alludes to, is that of *Nice*, which in the 6 canon, as it is recited in the Council of Chalcedon, sayes thus. *Ecclesia Romana semper habuit primatum*, the Church of Rome hath allwaies had the primacy, where that holy council gives it not as you surmise, but declares it to have been allwaies due to that see since the Apostles time: whence also appears the falshood of what you say next, that *Leo durst not pretend divine right and institution, nor to a succession of Primacy from the Apostle*, for this very Synod to which *Leo* alludes, warrants both. For if it were alwayes due to it, or that it had alwayes possession of it, *semper habuit*, it must have come not only from the time of the Apostles but from Christ himself, otherwise it had been *semper*, for in the time of the Apostles, it had not been due to it. When you say next, I translate the word *universitas*, the whole visible Church, you wrong me, for I translate it universality, see *pag. 59.* and when I name the whole visible Church, *p. 60.* I make

no translation of his words, but deliver that which I think to be the sense of them. To what you say, there was a Roman *universality*. If you mean, that those who were under the sole *Roman Empire* with exclusion of all extra-imperial Churches communicating with them, were called anciently the universal Church, or the universality of Christians, you are much deceived, where prove you that? if as united with them, and giving the denomination to the whole, 'tis true and confirms what I say. Now to shew that *Valentinian* meanes by universality, not those of the *Roman Empire* exclusively to all others, he joyntly to universality, *ubique*; for then sayes he, the peace of the Church will be kept every where, when the whole universality acknowledges their government: but certainly *Valentinian* was not so ignorant, as not to know, there were then many Churches out of the *Roman Empire*. For about the year 414. that is above 20 years before *Valentinian* enacted this law, *Spain* was possessed by the *Goths*, and divided from the *Roman Empire*: and was *Valentinian* think you ignorant of that? so that I am not ashamed to confesse my ignorance, that I really know not any *Roman* universality Ecclesiastical in your precise and exclusive sense, nor know I any Council anciently stiled œcumenical, or universal, where no Bishops out of that one (the *Roman*) common-wealth, were present, and you have not yet instructed me to help my ignorance in this. I have no obligation at all to tell you, what power *Valentinian* had out of the Empire, for he might first declare (as he did) the power of the *Roman Bishop* to govern the whole Church in the beginning of this breif, and in the end, take care, that all those Provinces which were under his Empire should observe that his law, concerning so much as belonged unto him, that the universal power

of the Pope should be observed : As may now the Emperour of *Germany*, or the King of *France*, or *Spain* first declare the universal power of the *Roman* Bishop over all Churches, and then command all their Provinces to obey him, which is all the Emperour does here. For *Valentinian* sayes not (as you falsifie his words, *omnium provinciarum* of all the Provinces, but *aliarum provinciarum*, of other Provinces, nor (*ut Pax ubique servetur*, as you corrupt him, but *nunc ubique servabitur*, then peace will be observ'd every where, if the whole universality acknowledge their governour ; and that not in the law but in the declaration made of *vide supra*. the Popes authority, as an introduction to it. You answer to *Valentinians* affirming the Popes authority and sentence was of force without any imperial law to back it, is much deficient. For seeing he had before declared that the Popes commands had been alwaies observed, they must have been of force, both before any Patriarchate was assign'd to him by any general Council, (as you imagine it was) and before any Christian Emperours had enacted any lawes concerning it, and the very law it self destroyes your glosse, for *Valentinian* sayes presently, *what shall not be lawful for the authority of so great a Bishop to exercise upon the Churches*. Whereby he shews his power extends it self not only to his own, but to all other Patriarchates ; nay your very restraining his words to the Empire and yet extending them to the whole Empire, shew evidently, that the Popes sentence had not been only of force independently of any imperial law within his own, but also in all other jurisdictions of the Patriarchs within the imperial verge ; and hence the consequence which you draw from this authority, whereas *Valentinian* sayes it needed not the imperial help, *that*
it

it needed this extraordinary secular support, is as contrary as to draw darkness from light: and as inconsequent is it to argue from *Hilaries* repugning against the Pope sentence for a time, that the Pope had no such power over him (which notwithstanding you granted just now,) as to argue that a lawful Prince hath no power over rebellious subjects, because they resist it. So that it could never seem to any considering person, otherwise then that it came into the thoughts and words too of *Valentinian* here, that the Popes supremacy exceeded the limits of the *Roman* Empire. But it is evident enough, through the vein that runs through this Paragraph, that you are soundly netled with this law of *Valentinian*, and yet because you are resolved, what ere comes on't to persist in your error, you fall foul upon *Hosius*, *Leo*, *Valentinian*, Bishops, Popes, rather then yield to a manifest truth; *Hosius* you make so shallow, that he took things away weakly and facilly upon the custome of the times, *Leo* you make proud and fraudulent, and *Valentinian* a young and raw Prince, subject to be perswaded to any thing. The most part of considering readers will smile to see *Hosius* the most honoured Bishop of his time through the whole Church, who presided in two general Councils, and legate of the holy Pope *Silvester* for the *Western* Church, *Leo* graced with the title of most blessed *Nicene* Father, pronounced the head of the Catho- *Sardican* lick Church, and universal Bishop, stiled the mouth of *St. Peter* in the Council of *Chalcedon*, and ever since honoured with the title of a Saint, and *Valentinian* a most renowned Emperour, both for fortitude and prudence, for he was twenty seven years of age when he composed this edict, so slighted, reviled, and debased by the *Minister* of *Kidderminster*, and that

upon your surmises and guesses without any proof at all. And others will pity and compassionate your misery (as I really do), to see you so deeply plunged in adhesion to your own opinion, that you will break all the bonds of Christian modesty and charity, rather than acknowledge your error, or yield to a manifest truth.

Mr. Baxter.

258. *And it's no credit to your cause, that this Hilary was (by Baronius's confession) a man of extraordinary holiness and knowledge, and is sainted among you, and hath his day in your Kalendar.*

William Johnson.

Num. 258. But does not *Baronius*, in the very same place, reprehend him at that time when he fell into those defaults, and tell you that after his condemnation, he came again to himself, crav'd most humbly pardon of the Pope, and shewed manifest signs of repentance, and upon this his humiliation and perseverance in obedience to the See of *Rome*, became both a famous defender of the Catholick Faith, and a Saint. Was it any disadvantage to the Catholique Church, that *Origen*, *Tertullian*, or even *St. Cyprian* himself, men of equal understanding and learning with *St. Hilary*, opposed the doctrine of the Church, and raised troubles in it?

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 259. *And yet Valentinian had great provocation to interpose (if Leo told him no untruth, for his*
own

own advantage; for it was no lesse then laying siege to Cias, to force Bishops on them without their consent. That he is accused of; which shews to what odious pride and usurpation, prosperity even then had raised the Clergy, fitter to be lamented with floods of tears, then to be defended by any honest Christian: Leo himself may be the Principal Instance.

William Johnson.

Num. 259. He had so indeed, but must he therefore give more power to the Bishop of Rome then of right belonged to him. Who either defends, or is not ready to bewail these abuses? But I see where you are, you would cast a blot, if you could, upon Episcopal Government, and cry down the power and possessions wherewith God and good men had even in those times enriched them.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 260. *You next return to the Council of Chalcedon, Act. 1. & seq. where 1. you referre me to that Act. 1. where is no such matter: but you adde, (& seq.) that I may have a hundred and ninety pages in folio to peruse, and then you call for a speedy answer: but the Epistle to Leo is in the end of Act. 16. pag. (Bin.) 139. And there you do but falsely thrust in the word (thou governeest us), and so you have made your self a witness, because you could find none. The words are, Quibus tu quidem, sicut membris caput, præerans, in his qui tuum tenebant ordinem benevolentiam præferens: Imperatores vero ad ordinandum decentissime præsidebant. Now (to go before) with you must be*

(to govern) ; if so, then Aurelius at the Council of Carthage, and others in Councils that presided, did govern them.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 260. We must have new Grammars and Dictionaries, to understand your translations. Who ever said before you, that *praesse*, signifies to go before? I was alwayes taught, and I think you too, or you had a Sir John lack-Latin for your Master, that *esse* signifies to be, and not to go, and so *praesse* is to be before, or above another, and not to go before them. A servant may go before his Lady to usher her, can it therefore be said, *praest Domina*? a horse goes before the Cart, can you therefore say *praest currui*? We read Gen. 1. v. 16. that God made the Sun, *ut praestet diei*, would you translate, that it might go before the day? and v. 26. he gave power to man, *ut praestet piscibus maris, & volucris calis, &c.* will you translate, that he might go before the beasts of the Earth, and the birds of the Air? and the 1. Tim. 3.5. *si quisquis autem Domui suae praesse nescit*, if any know not how to go before his family, &c. But to be more serious, I challenge you to give me any one instance, where *praesse* signifies not to govern others as I translate it, either in Scripture or antiquity. Indeed Sir you are a worse Critick then you are a Controvertist: I say not therefore, 'tis you who mistake it; that to go before, must be to govern, but that *praesse aliis*, is to govern them, which all the world sayes with me. Whence also, that if Aurelius in quality of Primate in Africa, did *praesse concilio*, he also governed them, as did anciently the Primate of England the Councils in England.

Mr.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 261. *It was but* (benevolentiam prætulisse) *that they acknowledged: and that the Magistrates not only presided indeed, but did the work of Judges and Governours, is expresse in the Acts, its after wrote in that Epistle, Hæc sunt, quæ tecum qui spiritu præsens eras, & complacere tanquam fratribus deliberaſti, & qui pene per tuorum vicariorum sapientiam videbaris, à nobis effecimus.*

William Johnson.

Num. 261. Will you venture to Criticize again, after your late foyle? know you not that the Greek language is full of courteous and friendly expressions? it was indeed *Leo's* good will to send his Legates with their instructions to them, but was it therefore no act of power and authority? is it not *benevolentia Principis*, to confer new honours upon his well deserving subjects? seems it not therefore to be an act of Royal power over them? who denies the Magistrates did the work of Judges? but still in their kind, and within their Sphere, to see good order, justice, and peace observed amongst the Bishops. But prove, if you can, they ever as Judges gave their suffrages and votes together with the Bishops in definitions of faith, or framing Ecclesiastical decrees?

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 262. *And* (hæc à tua sanctitate fuerunt inchoata, and yet, qui enim locum vestræ sanctitatis obtinent, iis ita constitutis vehementer resistere tentaverunt)

from

from all which it appeareth, that he only is acknowledged to lead the way, and to please them, as his brethren, and to help them by the wisdom of his substitutes, & yet that the Council would not yeild to their vehement resistance of one particular.

William Johnson.

Num. 262. These consequences I understand as little as I do your translations: I beseech you in your next, draw something against my assertion, from them.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 263. But I have told you oft enough that the Council shall be judge, not in a complemental Epistle, but in Can. 28. where your Primacy is acknowledged, but 1. as a gift of the Fathers. 2. And therefore as new. 3. For the Cities dignity. 4. And it can be of no farther extent then the Empire, the givers and this Council being but the members of that one Common-wealth: so that all is but a novel Imperial Primacy.

William Johnson.

Num. 263. This is already answered in part, and shall be more fully, when we come to it.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 264. And for the words of Vincentius Lyrensis, c. 9. what are they to your purpose (quantum loci autoritate) signifieth no more then we confess, viz. that

that in those times the greatness of Rome, and humane ordination thereupon, had given them that precedency, by which their (*loci autoritate*) had the advantage of any other Seat: Or else they had never swelled to their impious usurpation.

William Johnson.

Num. 264. I see here you are as skilful in Chronologie, as you are in Criticisms: know you not that *Vincentius* speaks of St. Stephen Pope and Martyr, who sat in the year 258. till 260. in whose time, the temporal greatness of Rome served for nothing, but to render its Bishops objects of tyranny, and subjects of torments; nor was there then any humane ordination at all, either from general Councils, or Christian Emperours, from whom only you derive it, for it was many years before them both, which notwithstanding, this ancient Catholique author sayes, that even then in those purest times, the Roman Bishop surpassed all other Bishops, *loci autoritate* not in precedency only, but in authority of his place. Now I hope you will tell us in your next, who, if not our Saviour, gave that Sovereign authority to the Bishop of Rome in those dayes. Should one say, the Lord Mayor of London, surpasses all those of the City, in the authority of his place, signifies no more, then that in publique meetings he is to take place of all the other Aldermen, &c. without any governing power over them, would any rational man think he speaks sense?

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 264. I have plainly proved to you in the end
of

*of my (safe Religion) that Vincentius was 'no Pa-
pist.*

William Johnson.

Num. 265. I am subject to believe your proofs there will be much like those which I lately examined in your *Key*. The question is not now of what Religion *Vincentius* was, but whether in this place, he gave an unanswerable testimony of the Popes Supremacy. I am sure the answer you have given to it, is fallacious, not distinguishing the time wherein *Vincentius* writ, from the time whereof he writes in that Chapter, and it is no less untrue and inconsistent in it self, your constituting humane ordination for the Popes authority, when there was none.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 266. *But you draw an argument from the word (sanxit), as if you were ignorant that bigger words then that, are applyed to them that have no governing power. (Quantum in se sanxit), he charged them that they should not innovate: And what? is it P. Stephen that is the Law-giver of the Law against unjust innovation? did not Cyprian believe that this was a Law of Christ before Stephen medled in that business? what Stephen's authority was in those dayes, we need no other witnesses then, Firmilian, Cyprian, and a Council of Carthage, who slighted the Pope as much as I do.*

William Johnson.

Num. 266. You criticize again: Signifies *sanxit*,
to

to charge one? I ever yet thought, that *sanxit*, signified, he made a decree, or a Law, look into the *Dictionary*, and you'll find it so. A father charges his child to rise at six a clock in the morning, will you say? *sanxit*; shew me in any approved ancient author, that (*sanxit*) is ever applied to any, who have not power to command, or to give Laws to others, in regard of whom they do *sancire*, establish any thing to be observed. The question is not now, what *Stephen* did, or *Cyprian* believed, but what *Vincentius* says of *Stephen*, he says, *sanxit*, he sent or fram'd a Law or decree, that in matter of baptism of those who had been baptized by heretiques, nothing should be innovated: but what was delivered by tradition of receiving them into the Church without rebaptizing them, should be observed: this St. *Cyprian* questioned, and inclin'd too much to the contrary. Nor is the question here what *Stephens* authority was in other particulars, or was not, but whether *Lyrensis* say that he had power, and actually did *sancire*, enact and make a Law to oblige all those in *Africa* in this particular. Why divert you the question by so many turns, I leave your answer to judgement. You still take all occasions to enervate the Popes authority, by al- leading the opposition of those who (you know, and all the learned with you,) were in error against it, such were those in that Council of *Carthage*, *Firmilian*, and St. *Cyprian* then, whilst they defended the error of rebaptization. Whence appears the untruth of what you affirm here, that St. *Cyprian* knew that the ancient custome maintain'd by Pope *Stephen*, of non-rebaptization, was to be observed, for he with *Firmilian*, and Council of *Carthage*, &c. practised and taught the quite contrary.

Mr.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 267. *I pray answer Cyprians testimony and arguments against Popery, cited by me in the Disp. 3. of my (safe religion.)*

William Johnson.

Mum. 267. I see you'll give me work enough, if I had nothing else to do then busie my self with the tasks you set me ; what have I to doe now with the third disputation of your *safe religion* (I believe I shall finde it much of the same temper with your key) or whether St. Cyprians arguments are with or against Popery? Our question is about *Vincentius Lyrinenfis* his authority ; answer that in the true sense of the Latin word, *Sancit*, and then wee'l talk with you about other questions, when occasion requires it.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 268. *You say you will conclude with the saying of your Priest Philip, and Arcadius at Ephesus : and 1. you take it for granted that all consented to what they contradicted not : but your word is all the proof of the consequence. Nothing more common, then Senates and Synods to say nothing to many passages in speeches not consented to. If no word not consented to in any mans speech must pass without contradiction, Senates and Synods would be no wiser societies then Billingsgate affords, nor more harmonious then a fair or vulgar rout : what confusions would contradictions make amongst them.*

William

William Johnson.

Num. 268. Yet certainly, if any one in your Council held at *London* an. 1562 should have said as much of *St. Peters* and the Popes supremacy, as this legate said in the Council of *Ephesus*, he would have had all the new Bishops about his ears, and a greater noise against him then was ever yet had at *Billingsgate*, which would have rung all the Kingdom over. You answer to my difficulty is fallacious, *ex ignoratione elenchi*, you suppose me to argue this in an universal proposition, *whatsoever is said by any particular person and not contradicted in Councils is consented to by the whole Council*; and upon this false supposition you frame your Reply. Now I advance no such universal proposition at all in that place, but argue from their silence or non contradiction, to their consent out of the particular instance of the legates delivering a doctrine (in your principles) absolutely destructive of the authority, and jurisdiction, of all the Bishops in the Council, and therefore were obliged in conscience to contradict it: their silence therefore, evinces they conceived it was no disadvantage to them, but a great advantage both to them and the whole Church, and so argues they consented to it. All therefore that I affirm is this, whatsoever is said tending directly to the destruction of the authorities, and privileges of those to whom it is said (as those words of the Legates must have done in your opinion) would have been contradicted by them, because they were all oblig'd to stand for the privileges which Christ had given them, and to oppose every one who delivered any doctrine contrary to them. Seeing therefore not so much as any one in the Council speak the least word against

against the Legates, its evident they esteemed not themselves to be injur'd or concern'd in them, and consequently consented to their doctrine as Catholick, and Orthodox, nor any way abridging any Bishop there of those Episcopal dignities and jurisdictions conferr'd by our Saviours institution upon them.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 269. *You turn me to Tom. 2. pag. 327. Act, 1. I began to hope of some expedition here: but you tell me not at all what author you use, and in Binus which I use, the Tomes are not divided into acts, but chapters, and pag. 327. is long before this Council; so that I must believe you, or search paper enough for a weeks reading to disprove you: this once I will believe you, to save me that labour, and supposing all rightly cited. I reply.*

William Johnson.

Num. 269. 'Twas your want of books, not mine of preciseness in citations (for I cite *Tome, Act and page*) which created you this labour, I had reason to think you were not ignorant that the edition of *Paulus quintus* (*ut supra*) was by actions, not chap. And there you may finde it as I have cited it.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 270. *Phillip was not the Council, you bare witness to your selves; therefore your witness is not credible.*

William

Num. 270. *Philip was not the council*, who sayes he was ? what then ? *ergo* his authority not contradicted by the Council (as I have now declared) is no good argument, the Council consented to his doctrine : make that good. But suppose it had been *Philip*, or *Arcadius* alone even speaking out of the Council, it had concluded against you, you have it seems forgot, what you affirmed p. 2. your edit. viz. *But at least, of four hundred years after Christ, I never yet saw valid proof of one Papist in all the world, that is one who was for the Popes universal monarchy or vice-Christship.* Now you know the Council of *Ephesus* was celebrated in the years 430 and 431. That is in a moral consideration of so many years, 400 years after Christ, and who can doubt that this *Philip* flourisht within the first 400, this testimony therefore proves evidently that there was at least one papist, that is one who was for the Popes universal monarchy or vice-Christship, in the extent of these ages wherein you profess not to have found so much as one single person in that whole tract of time. For those legates give testimony not only for that precise time of the Council, but also for all precedent ages before it, as I have evidenced by their words.

Mr. Baxter. .

Num. 271. *Yet I have given you instances in my key, which I would transcribe, if I thought you could not as well read print as M. S. of higher expressions then Caput & fundamentum given to Andrew by Iſychius, and equal expressions to others as well as Rome and Peter.*

A a

William

William Johnson.

Num. 271. You might have pleased to have told me where, thinke you I'me bound to were your key at my girdle, as if I had nothing to doe but busie my self in reading it over to finde your wild citations?

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 272. *And who is ignorant that knoweth any thing of Church history, that others were called successors of Peter as, well as the Bishop of Rome.*

William Johnson.

Num. 273. What successors mean you? such as were received by Christians to succeed in the place of St. Peter as he was, *fidei columna*, and *ecclesia Catholica fundamentum*, the pillar of Faith, and foundation of the Catholick Church, as the legate speakes here of him? truly Sr. I confesse I am so ignorant, that I know no such matter as you talke of.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 273. *And that the the Claves regni were given him, is no proof that they were not given also to all the rest of the Apostles.*

William Johnson.

Num. 273. The question is not at present, whether it prove absolutely they were not given to others, because

cause they were given to St. *Peter* : but, whether the *le^a* gate in this sentence must not mean, this to have been a privilege peculiar to St. *Peter*, as much as all the former were understood by him to be peculiar to St. *Peter*. Now, he could not without manifest absurdity be understood in any other sense, for seeing he intended to demonstrate to the Council the preheminance of St. *Peter* and his successors above all others, he had fallen into a grosse inconsequence, had he enumerated those excellencies to shew St. *Peter* to be greater then were the other Apostles and his successor higher in authority then the successors of any of the Apostles, should he have specified such particulars as were common with him and the rest of the Apostles, seeing those are so far from proving him to be above them, that they prove the quite contrary, for equal privileges common to all, prove all were equal in those privileges.

Mr. Baxter

Num. 274. *And where you say Arcadius condemneth Nestorius for contemning the command of the Apostolick see. You tell me not where to finde it. I answer you still, that its long since your see begun to swell and rage, but if you must have us grant you all these consequences, Celestine commanded, therefore he justly commanded; therefore another might not as well have commanded him, as one Pastor may do another, though equal in the name of Christ, And therefore he had power to command without the Empire over all the Catholick Church; and therefore the Council was of this minde: yea therefore the universal Church was of this minde, that the Pope was its universal head. You still*

are guilty of sporting about serious things, and moving pity, instead of offering the least proof.

William Johnson.

Num. 274. By what I have now writ in answer I think you will not have found me in jest, in the proof of these consequences taken with due circumstances. *Celestine*, sayes the legate, commanded, and *Nestorius* was condemned by him, for not obeying *Celestine's* command, and no man was either in the council or in the whole Church, who had then the repute of an orthodox Christian, either reprehended *Celestine* for commanding, or justified *Nestorius* for not obeying and if any did so, produce them in your next by good authority, *ergo* it was a just command. 2. It being a just command, and must proceed from one who had true authority to command, and against one whome you say by right of the first Council of *Constantinople*, was the first Patriarch then in the Church, had he true authority over him, he must have had true authority over all those who were inferior to him, *ergo* there was no man to be found in the church who had power to command *Celestine*, there is the second consequence. The third I prove thus, he had power to command justly (as is proved) the highest Patriarch in the Empire, and that Patriarch, and the others also, had power to command the Empire, (as I have proved above) *ergo Celestine* had consequently power to command all those, whom they commanded. The fourth consequence, I prove the legate said this in full and publick council, and were all highly concern'd in it, (as is also prov'd,) and yet did not in the least contradict it, *ergo* the council was of this mind, that it was no abridgement to their priviledges, but an establishment

stablishment of their authority, a prime preservative o the Churches unity and a fundamental institution of Christ, in the perfect orders of Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, as the legates had delivered it to the council. You suppose here without any proof at all, *that one pastor though equal may command another in the name of Christ*. Who ever taught this doctrine before you? everts it not inevitably the order of Church government, commanded by St. *Paul*? for what is order but a due observance and subjection of inferiours to their respective superiours, which is wholly subverted when an equal takes authority upon him to command his equal, whatsoever pretence of the name of Christ he assume to glosse it; for unless that conferre a real authority upon him who commands over him who is commanded, he remains his equal still, that notwithstanding, and then he commands without any true authority, which destroys order: or if it communicate a reall authority over the person commanded, it makes him superiour who commands and not equal to the other, which destroys your supposition, of one *equal* commanding an other. This made good, the last consequence followes inevitably; for seeing his Council has ever been revered, and received as a true general Council, and what such Councils consent to is the consent of the Catholick Church? for all bodies diffusive are to confirm themselves to their true representatives: it follows, and that very seriously without all jesting, that these consequences are so fast lockt up together, that all the turnes of your key will not be able to unlock them.

CHAP. VIII.

Num. 275. *Why perpetual adherence to the Roman Church, was promised by a Bishop who was reconciled from Schism to the Church. Extra-imperial. Bishops, obeyed the Bishops of Rome; Num. 276. Mr. Baxter forgets what his adversary undertook to prove, and thereupon accuses him of not proving, what he was not obliged to prove. Num. 277. Why the Roman supremacy in spirituals is necessary to the being of Christs visible Church. Num. 278. He proceeds fallaciously a sensu conjuncto, ad sensu divisum. The difference between temporal Kings, and Popes government, not understood by Mr. Baxter. Num. 279. He proceeds a jure, ad factum. from what should be done, to what is done; Num. 280. He mistakes his adversaries meaning in governing others as Brethren Num. 281. W^he her the Pope be absolutely the Monarch of the visible Church.*

Mr. Baxter,

Num. 275. Yet fear you not to say, that in the time of the holy œcumenical Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon the universal consent of the whole Catholick Church was for you in this point } The Lord keep our consciences from being the servants of our opinions
or

or interests. 1. Was the Popes legate the whole Church
 2. Was there one man at either of these Councils but
 within the Empire, yea a piece of the Empire? So that
 they were but such as we now call national Councils,
 that is, consisting only of the subjects of one republick.
 3. Did the Council speak a word for your power with-
 out the Empire? 4. Do they not determine it so ex-
 pressly to be of humane right, that Bellarmine hath no-
 thing regardable to say against it. (Can. 28. Con.
 Chil.) but that they spoke falsely? And yet your opi-
 nion or interest hath tempted you to appeal. viz. to the
 Sun that there is no such thing as light.

William Johnson.

Num. 275. Herts, nothing but a good face put up-
 on a bad cause, and a repetition of what is answered,
 imboldned with a new confidence, your first qu. about
 the Popes legate is answered. To your second, I answer,
 yes, there were no small number of extra-imperials: but
 had there been none, if all were summoned, it ceased not
 to be a general Council. To the third, yes, every decree
 it made was spoken to the whole Church, and (as it ap-
 pears by the letters of *Leo* the Emperour, writ pre-
 sently after the Council of *Chalcedon* to all Churches,
 even the most distant in those parts) it was universally
 received in their respective answers by every one of them
 To your fourth about can. 28. Con. Chal. I have an-
 swered already, and shall say more when it is more fully
 treated.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 276. *After the conclusion you have a su-
 pernumerary*

pernumeraty in your margin, from Greg. lib. 10. Epist. 30. But there is no such word in that Epistle, nor is it of any such subject. But its the 31 Epistle, its like, that your leader meant. And there is no more but that a Bishop not named (person or place) having fallen into Schism voluntarily, swore never more to depart from the unity of the Catholick Church, or the Sea of Rome. But. 1. So may a Bishop of the Roman Province do (or Patriarchate) without beleiving Rome to be the universal head.

William Johnson.

Num. 276. Could they? and yet make the communion with the Bishop of *Rome* to be the certification and evidence, they reconciled themselves to the Catholick Church? If any Schismatick in *France* should reconcile himself to the Catholick Church, could he promise to remain *allwayes* in the Communion of the Bishop of *Rhemes*? suppose that Bishop should so be excommunicated or turne Schismatick, as he might, could he promise never to forsake his communion? seeing therefore an absolute promise was made to remain *allwayes* in the communion of the Bishop of *Rome*, it was presupposed that Bishop once lawfully chosen and installed could never be excommunicated, or become a Schismatick, so long as he remained Bishop of *Rome*; otherwise the promise had been illegal and impious, obliging them to communicate with Schismaticks. Now there can be no other sufficient reason given, why the Bishop of *Rome* can never be excommunicated, or become a Schismatick so long as he is Bishop of that Sea, then that he is the visible head of the whole Church, from whose communion whosoever seperates becomes a Schif-

Schismatick : as he who seperates from the loyal obedience of the visible head of a Kingdome, becomes a Rebel but because he has no power above him against whom he can rebel, but as a King can never be a Rebell, so not the highest visible governour of the Church can be excommunicated or commit Schisme by contempt of the lawful authority of the Church, because he who is the highest of all has no authority in the Church over him, for then he were not the highest.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 277. *So might any one in any other Province have done : And yet it followes not that he ought to do so, because he did so. You see now what all your proofs are come too, and how shamefully naked you have left your cause.*

William Johnson.

Num. 277. I have so illustrated, and strengthened my instances, (to open them to your understanding) that every one of them, by an argument *a paritate rationis* (*ut supra*) evinces the Popes power to have been universal over all Christendome, seeing those Patriarchs and Prelates that were within the verge of the Empire obeyed him, upon no other score, save this, that they still conceived him to be, by vertue of the privileges and powers given by our Saviour to St. Peter and his lawful successors, the cheif Governour of themselves and of all other Prelates whatsoever, and of the whole Church ; and I challenge you to produce one sole instance of Authority from antiquity which sayes in expresse termes, that those of the Empire obeyed them because they were members of the Empire, or that his
 autho-

authority reached not without the Empire. Nay even in time of the Council of *Ephesus* and *Chalcedon*, *Spain* though seperate from the Empire, obeyed the *Roman* Bishop: for it was posselt by the *Goths* an. 414. who have ever since kept it, and the Council of *Ephesus* began 430. And not long after, an. 475. *France* was posselt by barbarous Kings, and never since returned to the Empire, yet still remained under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Rome*. When *England* was after converted, betwixt six and seven hundred years, it was no part of the same Empire, yet yeilded it obedience to the Bishop of *Rome*: the like is of many other *Western* and *Northern* Countiees out of the Empire converted, about, or after these times. See note of this in my reasons against your grand noveltie in restraint of general councils, what you mention here of a parity from *Canterbury*, hath no parity at all. For the English Church rendred obeisance to the Bishop of *Canterbury* as to the Pimate of the English Church only, whereas those in the Empire obeyed the Bishop of *Rome*, not as cheif Bishop only of the *Roman* Empire, but as having authority over the whole Church in vertue of succession from *St. Peter*, who received it from *Christ*, which I will demonstrate hereafter.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 278. *You have not named one man that was a Papist (Pope Leo was the nearest of any man) nor one testimony that ever a Pope of Rome had the government of all the Church without the verge of the Roman Empire ; but only that he was to the Roman Church as the arch-bishop of Canterbury to the English Church : and as between Canterbury and York , so between*

tween Rome and Constantinople, there have been contentions for prebeminency : but if you can prove Canterbury to be before York, or Rome before Constantinople that will prove neither of them to be Ruler of the antipodes, or of all the Christian world.

William Johnson.

Num. 278. But if you can prove *Canterbury* to be not only in place and precedency, but in authority and jurisdiction above *York*, and withall above all the Metropolitans, Primates and Patriarchs which were anciently within the *Roman Empire*, because they acknowledged his authority to be above *all the Prelates of God*, to have *Christs vineyard committed to his care from Christ*, to be the *Father to all the Bishops met in general Councils*, and they his *professed children* ; acknowledged by them to be their head, and they as *parts subject to him &c.* And never to have been acknowledged as supream in spirituals by these in the Empire, because his authority reached (as I have prov'd the Bishops of *Rome* to have been acknowledged by them) no farther then the Empire. When I say you shall have prov'd the Bishop of *Canterbury* to have been over all the Metropolitans Primates, and Patriarchs within the Empire, in this manner, as I have proved the Bishop of *Rome* to be, you will have proved *Canterbury* to have had all the prebeminences given him by antiquity to be the Supream spiritual governour of the whole Church. But seeing neither you, nor any one in his right wits, would ever undertake so great a peice of nonsense, I should have wondered you dazle the eyes of your readers with such empty shewes as these, had it not been so ordinary with you. This very argument hath proved, that not only one
man

man, but (as you cannot deny) all the Churches in the Empire acknowledge it, and yet you say I have not proved one man to hold it, whether this be to be termed confidence, or impudence I leave to judgement.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 279. *Much less have you proved that ever any Church was of this opinion, that the Pope was by divine Right the Governour of the world, when you cannot prove one man of that opinion. 3. much less have you proved a succession of such a Church from the Apostles, having said as much as nothing to the first 300 yeares.*

William Johnson.

Num. 279. You forget (and have proceeded in that act of oblivion through your whole reply) that I undertook in these instances, noe more then to prove against your bold assertion, that within the first 600. 500. and 400 yeares, there were some at least, who testified the Supremacy of the *Roman* Bishop over the whole Church by Christs institution: though therefore my proofs had not been taken out of those who flourished, within the first 300 yeares, seeing they were within the first 400, they had been of force against you. But you may remember also that I cited *St. Cyprian*, who was within the first 300, and *Vincentius Lyrinensis* who witnesses the same of *Pope Stephen* contemporary with *St. Cyprian*, and very many of my cheif instances prove, V. G. in the councils of *Nice*, *Ephesus*, and *Chalcedon*, that it descended from our Saviour, and had been in all ages since the Apostles, and was to be in all future ages.

Mr. Baxter

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 380. *And much less have you proved that the whole Catholique Church was of this opinion.*

William Johnson.

Num. 380. Whether I have or no, let others judge.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 381. *And yet least of all have you proved, that the whole Church took this Primacy of Rome to be of necessity to the very being of the Church, or to our salvation, and not only ad melius esse, as a point of order.*

William Johnson.

Num. 381. I have proved it to have been a matter ever necessary in the Church by Christs institution, and therefore necessary *ad esse*, to the being, and not only *ad bene esse*, to the perfection of the Church. For seeing some Governours are essential to the Church, as appears *Ephes.* 4. v. 11, 12, 13. in the order and Hierarchy of those Governours, there must be some who are to be over all the rest in visible government, otherwise neither could schism be avoided, and unity preserved, (as *Optatus* cited hereafter affirms, *l. 2. contra Parmen.*) nor would a visible body have a visible head, which would be monstrous.

Mr.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 382. So that you have left your cause in shameful nakedness, as if you had confessed that you can prove nothing.

William Johnson.

N. 382. If you mean to such eyes as yours, which I have demonstrated either discovered not or mis-saw the face of my arguments, I grant it: but all open and right sighted eyes, I hope will have seen my cause so invested with grace and truth by what I have here replied, that it will have no shame to appear before heaven and earth, before men and angels for its justification.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 383. In the end you return to terms. To what you say about the word (Christians) I only say that its but equivocally applied to any that profess not all the essentials of Christianity, of which Popery is none, any more then pride is.

William Johnson.

Num. 383. I leave it to judgement, whether this answer, related to my explication as of Christianity (pag. 64. your edit.) have any sense in it. For what though Popery, as you conceit, were no more essential to Christianity then pride is, yet if a Papist hold all the essentials of Christianity, as you hold he does, he may be univocally a Christian. Will you say, that because

cause pride is none of the essentials of Christianity, therefore no proud man holds all the essentials of Christianity? to what purpose then have you added this clause of *Pride* and *Popery*? when I speak in general and abstractive terms, not meddling at all with particulars. Now you give no satisfaction to your Reader about the clear notion of an univocal Christian; you tell him here, that an univocal Christian is he who believes all the essentials of Christianity, but through this whole answer you never give him either a distinct catalogue of essentials, or prescribe any direct rule, or means to know which they are, as we shall see hereafter.

Mr. Baxter.

Nun. 384. *About the word (Monarch) in good sadness, do you deny the Pope to be (an imperious sole Commander?) Which of these is it you do deny? not that he is a (Commander) not that he is (imperious) not that he is (sole) in his Sovereignty. I would either you or we knew what you hold or deny. But perhaps the next words shew the difference (as temporal Kings.) But this saith not a word wherein they differ from (temporal Kings.)*

Williams Johnson.

384. You are really a strange man to deal withal. Can any one speak more clearly then I have done? I say we hold no such Monarch in the Church, as is an imperious sole Commander, as temporal Kings are, &c. And when I have said all this in *sensu communis*, and knit my words and sense together as close as I can, you go and pull all in pieces, and ask me if I understand them
in

in sensu diviso? Is not this very handsome think you? Should I say that *Jane Shore* was no honest Christian woman, would you have askt me, which of these is it that I deny, not that she was a woman, not that she was a *Christian*, not that she was *honest* in her conversation; would it not have been ridiculous in a high degree? and if upon this you should adde, after I had said, *she was no honest Christian woman* (conform to what you do here) *I would either you or I could know what you hold about Jane Shore*. Would not every one laugh at you? But in sober sadness, did you not understand what I denied, as plainly as what I deny of *Jane Shore*. Hold we him to be an *Imperious sole Commander*, as *temporal Kings* are, whom we unanimously affirm to have no power to deprive Church Officers at his pleasure, as Kings have power to put out what Officer soever they please through their whole Kingdom; who is not alone to govern the Church either immediately or mediately as Kings govern their Kingdoms (according to Christs institution.) But every Bishop being Christs Officer, and not the Popes as truly as the Pope is within the precincts of his Diocess, are as true Governours of the different respective parts of the Church, as the Pope is of the whole. Now I hope at last you understand me, how Popes differ from temporal Kings.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 385. *Sure your following words shew not the difference. First Kings may receive power from Christ.*
 2. *Kings must rule in weakness, charity and humility.*

Wil-

William Johnson.

When we say, he receives power from Christ, you cannot be ignorant, that we understand it of Christ as author of Christian Religion, and not as author of nature and morality, nor can you but know, that temporal Kings, *as such*, abstract from Christian Religion, and are truly Kings, whether they be Christians or no; they cannot therefore be said in any formal proper sense to receive power from Christ, as he is head of his Church, but from God, as author of nature and morality.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 386. *But I think the meekness, charity and humility of Popes hath been far below even wicked Kings (if cruel murdering Christians for Religion, and setting the world on fire, may be witness) as your own Histories assure us.*

William Johnson.

You tear my discourse all in pieces. I join that of governing in charity, &c. to this as *Brethren and Children*, and you fallaciously divide it; it is not contrary to the humility of a King, to account all in his Kingdom to be his vassals, Substitutes, Officers, but it would be contrary to the humility of a Pope. A King will not be thought cruel and defective in meekness, if he judge a person, and condemn a malefactor to death, but a Pope would. The rest is a pure *misage*. I spake of the Office of Popes, and you of the persons, I of what we

B b

hold

hold they ought to do, and you of what they do, or may hap to do. If any personal cruelty have been exercised by Popes, let them answer it, not I, who have not in the least medled with it here. But I see such fallacies as these in passing *à jure, ad factum*, and the like are spread thick over your whole answer, yet even in this objected cruelty, we must take your honest word, for here's no other proof, then that you affirm at a venture, *our Historians assure us it is so*. You'll tell us I hope, in your next, who those Historians are.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 387. *The Government of Kings also is for (mens eternal good,) how ever Papists would make them but their executioners in such things.*

William Johnson.

Num. 387. Of what Kings? know you not we dispute now *in sensu formali*, that is, of temporal Kings (for that was my term, and would you have temporal Kings, that is, temporal Governours, as such tend to a spiritual and eternal good, for if as such they tend to a spiritual end, then all temporal Princes, even Turks and Heathens must do so.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 388. *Brethren as such, are no subjects, and therefore if the Pope rule men but as brethren, he rules them not by governing authority at all.*

Wil-

William Johnson.

Num. 388. What mean you by brethren as such, are no subjects abstractively? to what purpose? is it also true to say, men and women *as such* are no subjects, that is, they are not subjects precisely, *quatenus* under the formal notion of men and women, for then all men and women should be subjects exclusively? that is, their being brethren, repugnes to their being subjects. Take heed, that doctrine will be dangerous at Court: what? were not his Majesties brethren his subjects? or because his Majesty ruled them but as brethren, he ruled them not by any governing authority, as you say here of the Pope: the like is if any elder brother should be School-master, or General, or Magistrate over his younger brother, did he not rule him by governing authority? And have you not an expresse prophesie of two brethren, *major serviet minori*, the greater shall serve the lesser? Nay, calls not Christ himself his Apostles brethren, will you therefore say he rul'd them not by governing authority? But you (I suppose very innocently) fall into a grosse folly here, when I say he governs them as *brethren*, you would have my meaning to be, *as they are brethren*, by a reduplication upon the object, whereas by the term, *as brethren*, I mean he governs them as brethren use, or ought to be govern'd, reduplicating upon the act of governing, not upon the object that is to be govern'd; that is, the chief Governour of Christs Church, is according to the will and institution of Christ, to govern all Christians as a brother, who is a Superiour and Governour of his brethren, and ought to govern them, to wit, in meekness, charity, and humility: and therefore I make all my reduplications and reflections upon the

act, when I say, if only for one who hath received power from Christ in meekness, charity, and humility to govern all the rest, for their eternal good, as brethren, or children, I grant it.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 398. Children to him we are not: you must mean it but metaphorically, and what mean you then? Is it that he must do it in love for their good? so also must Kings: so that you have yet exprest no difference at all.

William Johnson.

Num. 389. To what purpose trifle you thus? do I say, Christians are the Popes natural children? Say I not, as children, and know you not, that *nullum simile est idem*? who can think they are otherwise then metaphorical children, and he a metaphorical Father? but will you scruple at the *Pater noster*, because we call God *our Father*, and consequently our selves his children, because we are not the proper and natural, but his metaphorical children? when you next talk of governing them in love for their good, and affirm that Kings must do the like, why leave you out the word *eternal*, which is my epithite, and wherein the force of my words consists? and then tell me I have exprest no difference at all? is this fair? will not every one who hath but half an eye discover such petty slights as these.

Mr.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 390. But our question is not new, nor in universal terms: what Sovereignty you claim, you know or should know. Are you ignorant that Bellarmine, Boverius, and ordinarily your Writers labour to prove that the Government of the Church is Monarchical, and that the Pope is the Monarch, the supreme head and Ruler, which in English is Sovereign? Are you ashamed of the very cause or Title of it, which you will have necessary to our salvation.

William Johnson.

390. 'Tis one thing, to say the Government is *Monarchical*, and another to affirm the Pope to be the Monarch (as you do, and *Bell.* cited by you, does not) of the whole Church, without ever explicating what kind of Monarch you mean. A government may be termed Monarchical which hath a great part of Monarchy in it, though it be not strict and perfect Monarchy, as a man may be called Angelical, though he be no Angel; thus our Authors (and particularly *Bellarmino*) put the Church-government to have something of the mixt in it, though he esteems it to incline more to Monarchy than to *Aristocracy*. Whence appears that your inference drawn from a government thus imperfectly Monarchical, to intitle the chief Governour in it, the Monarch of it, without all restriction as you do, is of no force. And of as little force is your other inference grounded in your former mistake

Bell. l. 1. de Rom. pont. c. 5. sect. ultimo.

that I am ashamed of any title which I hold necessary to salvation ; first prove we call the Pope Monarch, and then say I am ashamed of it.

CHAP. IX.

Num. 391. *Whether the title of the Vice-Christ be accounted either due, or given by sufficient authority, amongst Roman Catholiques to the Pope, or accepted by them.* Num. 392. *Mr. Baxter confounds Vice-Christi, in place of Christ, and Vice-Christus the Vice-Christ.* Num. 393. *How far the Pope is understood to be in the place of Christ.* Num. 394. *He miscites his Adversaries words.* Num. 395. *How the Vice-Christ and the Vicar of Christ differ.* Num. 396. *Why a Deputy for a King may be called the Vice-King, but a Deputy of Christ cannot be called the Vice-Christ.* Num. 397. *Mr. Baxter makes Vice God, to be a higher title than Vice-Christ.* Num. 398. *Mr. Baxter, in place of alleadging a sufficient that is a publique authority, cites Oratours, Poets, Encomiasticks, &c. and yet mistake most of those.*

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 391. Next you say, that you (very much dislike the title of Vice-Christ) as proved and insolent, and utterly disclaim from it, neither was it ever given by any sufficient authority to your Popes, or did they ever ac-
cept

cept of it. Reply. Now blessed be God that makes sin a shame to it self, that the Patrons of it dare scarce own it without some paint or vizard.

William Johnson.

Num. 391. Had you first confuted this answer, and then broke out into this exclamation, it had been much more seasonable, but as it stands, it relishes more of passion than of reason; and will appear so, to any who shall consider the weakness of your proofs against it, whereof most consist in a pure digression, by a fallacy usual to you, proceeding *a notione secunda, ad primam*, from the second notion to the first, or from the title to the thing it self, as we shall now see.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 392. *Is not the very life of the cause between you and us, whether the Pope be the universal head of the Church, Vice-Christi, & Vicarius Christi? Are not these the most common titles that Papists give them, and that they take unto themselves?*

William Johnson.

Num. 392. Here you begin your fallacie, *Vicarius Christi*, is indeed a title, but *Vice-Christi* is none, the one signifies the *Vicar of Christ*, but the other signifies, *in the place or stead of Christ*; which having no substantive or demonstrative annex to it, cannot possibly be a title, for of it self it signifies no determinate substance. Now if you will joyn to it a substantive, and say, *Papa est Vice-Christi*, the Pope is in place of Christ,

you may make some kind of title to it, but you can never make it that about which we controvert, for that is *Vice-Christus, the Vice-Christ*; so that all those who are *Vice-Christi* in the genitive case, that is, the place of *Christ*, are not *Vice-Christi* in the nominative, that is, *Vice-Christi*, which title onlie is in question betwixt us; (you were (as some of your Parishioners esteemed you) to govern those of *Kidderminster, Vice-Christi*, in the place of *Christ*, were you therefore *the Vice-Christ of Kidderminster*? Nor is the title of universal head of the Church set down in your illimited terms here, either a title acknowledged by us as due to the Pope, or given to him by us. For that *Christ* being the sole universal head of the Church, which comprehends the Church militant and triumphant, the term *universal head* signifies that which is due to *Christ* onlie; we therefore acknowledge there is none but *Christ* himself according to your expression *universal head* of the Church, nor is there any universal Vice-head, nor Vice-*Christ* corresponding to that universal head, to be found in the whole Church. Nay, even speaking of the sole militant Church, we never say, without some restriction, the Pope is *universal head of the Church*, for universal head, comprises as well the internal and invisible, as the visible Governour of the militant Church; now we all deny that the Pope is head in the *invisible* government of the visible Church, for that manner of government *Christ* only is the universal head; nor say we, that there is any Vice-*christ* or Vice-head constituted in the place of *Christ*, in this invisible direction of the Church. We therefore restrain the term *universal head*, by this restrictive *visible*; nor intend we to say any more then this, that the Bishop of *Rome* is the visible head of the universal visible Church, so far as it is capable of a visible

visible government, together with other Bishops, who are as truly Christs officers and vice-gerents in their respective governments though subject to the Pope, as he is in his government. And in this sense only can he be termed a vice-Christ, or vice-God, that is holding the place of Christ in the visible government of his Militant Church. But he cannot be stiled *the* vice-Christ which is the sole title about which we now contend, for that imports an absolute Vice-gerency under Christ in all things. Now in the other sense above explicated every lawful Bishop also or Pastor, may be termed a *Vice-Christ* and every King a Vice-God in reference to those whom they govern as truly as the Pope can be : yet neither we nor you attribute usually any such title to any of them because they seem neither to suite with Christian humility, nor with the incomparable supereminency of Christ. Now to shew that even when they are attributed by some Encomiasticks to our Popes, it is done with restrictions as v. g. *in terris*, upon earth, *visibilis*, visible &c. And every one who knowes any thing knows this is all we mean.

Mr. Baxter.

Num 393. *Nay look back into your own papers here pag. 6. Whether you say not that they are instituted governours in Christs place of his whole visible Church.*

William Johnson.

Num. 393. You are a man of a strange confidence, I have lookt back upon pag. 6. in your edition and finde evidently I say not so much as one word of what
you

you cite here, and had *you* lookt back with an even eye, you would have seen no such words nor any thing like them in that place, let all the world see and judge ; and in those pag where I advance a proposition about the Popes supremacy p. 23. I have not those words, in *Christs place*, in which only you ground your argument : let the world again see and judge, my proposition there is this, that the Pope is cheif governour on earth in matters belonging to the soule next under Christ where I limit the extent of his government, by saying *on earth*, and the power in governing, by not saying in *all matters* belonging to the soul, *but in matters belonging to the soul*, that is no other *save those*, though not *all those*, to wit not in the internal illuminations, graces, and influences, inspired by the holy ghost into the harts of Christians, whereby it is evident, I speak such things, as are visible, and external, for that restriction was added, to distinguish his power in government, from that of temporal Princes, who can govern only the external. If you deal so unfairely in your citations, even where every one with the turne of a leaf can discover you : what credit can your readers afford to those which they cannot examine ? *Corruption.*

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 394. 2. *Doth not Bellarmine (as I have cited else where) labour to prove, that it is not as an Apostle that the Pope succeeds Peter but as a head of the Church in Christs stead ? doth not Boverius cited in my key labour to prove him the Vicar of Christ, and to be Vice-Christi ?*

William

William Johnson.

Num. 394. Both *Bellarmino* and *Boverius*, make him head no farther in Christs place, then in order to the visible government over the Militant Church; nor make they him the *vice-Christus*, the vice-Christ, but to be *vice-Christi* in place of Christ, or *Vicarius Christi*; which I have shewed to be mainly different from the title of *vice-Christus*, the *vice-Christ*, for that put absolutely, seems to impart that he is in the place of Christ in the intire government, of the militant Church, both visible and invisible, and that the Pope as the vice-Christ, can infuse illuminations, and spiritual graces into soules, and knew them and regulated them perfectly as Christ did whilst he was upon earth; and in the visible government of the Church, that he hath a power to displace any Bishop, or Prelate at his pleasure through the whole Church, as if they were his own officers, and not the officers of Christ. And here appears the disparity, in that which you being for a parity, of those who rule in the place of a King, to be stiled *vice-regia* vice-kings, for by reason that Kings have no other governing power save what is visible, all the acts of that power may be communicated, by way of vicegerency to him who is vicegerent of the King, who therefore may be absolutely stiled the vice-King, because all those acts are committed to him by the King; but in our case the cheif and primacy only of government, being the internal influxes into the soul, are not committed to the Pope; so that he cannot be absolutely termed *vice-Christus*, the vice-Christ, but still with a restraint and limitation, or *secundum quid*; And by this appears also your fallacy, that first you proceed *a parte, ad totum*,
from

from one part of government, to the whole ; and then a *secundum quid*, *ad simpliciter* , to one who in some consideration only is in the place of Christ, to wit the Pope, or vicar of Christ, to an other who is in all respects, and absolutely in place of a King, that is a *Vice-roy* or *vice-King*. I never therefore contended with you that the Pope may not be stiled *Vice-Christ*, with restriction or limitation, but that the title of the *vice-Christ* absolutely put is not as you put it, due to him.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 395. *And what fitter English have we for the Kings deputy in a distant Kingdome, who is vice-Regis, then the vice-King ? or a Chancellors deputy, then (the vice Chancellor ?) vice-Christi is your own common word, and vicarius Christi, none more common scarce then the latter : and what English is there fitter for this, then the vice-Christ, or vicar of Christ.*

William Johnson.

Num. 395. Your joining together the vice-Christ and vicar of Christ as *Sinonomas* is frivolous, for they have a quite different signification, when vice-Christ, is put absolutely. and your making *vice-Christi* in place of Christ, to be the same with *vice-Christus*, vice-Christ, is *absonus* : the rest is answered. The English therefore, to signifie, how the Pope is in place of Christ is *the vicar of Christ*, not *the vice-Christ*.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 396. *It is evident indeed the very terms that expresseth properly as men can speak, the true point and*

and life of the controversie between us. And how could you suffer your pen to set down that the Popes did never accept of this, when it is their own common phrase: (*vice-Christi*, & *vicarius Christi*?)

William Johnson.

Num. 396. I never suffered my pen to deny the title of *Vicarius Christi*, the vicar of Christ, nor that he is *vice-Christi*, in place of Christ in his visible government; but that which I deny is, that we either use to stile them or they assume the title, of *vice-Christ*, and you have not the consideration to distinguish betwixt *vice-Christi*, and *vice-Christus*: which every school boy is able to distinguish.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 397. But here againe remember (and let it be a witness against you) that you dislike and utterly disclaim the very name that signifieth the Papal power, as proud and insolent. And if you abhor Popery while you vice men to it, let my soul abhor it, and let all that regard their soules abhor it. blessed be that light that hath brought it to be numbred with the works of darkness,

William Johnson.

Num. 397. All will pittie you, who see you write thus confidently upon meer phantasmes, and upon your own misconceit of your adversaries words; and sure your light must be very dim, which cannot distinguish betwixt *vice-Christi* and *vice-Christus*? but you have
invol-

Involved in the ensuing paragraph another incongruity, you say the the title of vice-Christ, is not the highest, which the Popes claim, and to prove it you nominate a higher and that is the title of vice-God whereby one would take you to be an *Arian*, and consequently (in your principles) to be no Christian, then be like you believe God to be higher then Christ, and so believe him not to be God: and you take these two with a third, I say the title of vice-Christ was never *given by sufficient authority to our Popes, neither did they ever accept of it*, where it is evident I speak of a solemn authoritative attribution, and acceptation of such titles usually and publickly exercised by our Popes, not of a rethorical expression by some particular persons or a negative silence by some particular Pope in not contradicting, or tacitely accepting such expressions, and therefore, I say not of any Pope, as speaking in particular, *but of our Popes*, taking them collectively as assenting to and using such titles. Now you answer by a fallacy proceeding *a parte ad totum* as if you would argue this man is endued with reason, therefore all sensible creatures are indued with reason, you discourse thus, some particular person may have given, and some particular Pope negatively accepted of such rethorical, or not legal expressions. This will appear by your subsequent proofs.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 398. *Were it not more tedious then necessary, I would cite you the words. (vice-Christi & vicarius Christi) out of Popes and multitudes of writers. But alas that's not the highest, the vice-God is a title that they have not thought insolent, or words of the same signification, would you have my proof? pardon it then for*

for proving your pen so false and deceitful (that's not my fault.)

William Johnson.

Num. 398. The first part of this is only a transition, and so requires no answer. The second is answered in the fore going paragraph.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 399. *Pope Julius the second in his general Council at Laterane, saith [Cont. Pragmat. sanct. monitor. Binius, vol. 4. pag. 560.] Though the institutions of sacred Canons, holy Fathers, and Popes of Rome and their decrees be judged immutable, as made by divine inspiration ; yet the Pope of Rome, who, though of unequal merits, holdeth the place of the eternal King, and the maker of all things, and all laws on earth, may abrogate these decrees when they are abused. Here from the Judge of Faith it self, you hear that the Pope holds the place of the eternal King, the maker of all things, and laws.*

William Johnson.

Num. 399. In this proof is neither vice-Christ nor vice- God, if it be, shew it in your next. Every Prince spiritual or temporal holds the place of the eternal King, the maker of all things, and lawes, and yet they assume not to themselves the title of *vice-God*.

Mr. Bax.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 400. *Pope Sixtus Quartus in passagio five Bulla contra Turcos, sent to Philip Palatine Elector. 1481. in Brecheri tom. 2 pag. 162. vol. 2. saith* (Vniuersos Christianos Principes, ac omnes Christi fideles requirere eisq[ue] mandare vice Dei, cujus locum, quamvis immeriti tenemus in terris, *that is, we are constrained (to require all Christian Princes, and all believers in Christ, and to command them, in the stead of God, whose place on earth we hold, though undeserving) Here is a vice-God, holding his place on earth, and commanding all Princes and Christians to warr against the Turks in Gods stead. note, vide in margine. Here is neither &c.*

William Johnson.

Num. 400. *Heres is neither vice-Christ, nor vice-God, but only the Pope commanding in the place or stead of God, and you now confound vice-dei, and vice-Demon, as you did before, vice-Christi, and vice-Christum.*

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 400. *I know to a particular people Gods Embassadors are said to speak in his name and stead as if God did beseech men by us, 2 Cor. 5. 19. But this is only as to a narrow and limited Embassage, not that they hold Gods place on earth, as Rulers over the universal Church.*

William

William Johnson.

Num. 401. This answer of yours overthrows your argument, and shews evidently, that every lawful governor temporal, or spiritual, is *Vice-Dei*, or *Vice-Christi*, in the name of God or Christ, to govern others. I give also a limited embassage, or Vice-government to our Popes, that is, no farther then in visible and external government. And will you adventure to condemn the ruling of the whole visible Church on earth, to be proud and insolent? was not every one of the Apostles, sent by our Saviour into the whole world? and had not every one a part, received power to govern the whole Church in the name and place of our Saviour? proves not this text of the 2 Cor. 5. 19. so much? where he names no particular people or nation, but affirms that they being Embassadors from Christ, God by them exhorted the world, which Christ had reconciled; and that I conceive extends it self to all Nations in the world. Did not the Council of the Apostles, Act. 15. govern the whole Church in place of Christ, and in Gods stead? did not every Apostle in their canonical Epistles give rules, and Commands in Gods stead to all Christians? were they therefore Vice-Gods?

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 402. *The same Pope Sixtus. 4. saith ibid. pag. 163. Sola superest Romana sedes, sedes utique immaculati agni: sedes viventis in secula seculorum: Hæc quippe prædictas Patriarchales genuit Ecclesias, quæ quasi filiae in ejus gremio residebant, & in circuitu tanquam famulæ in ipsius adstitebant obsequio, that is only*

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the Roman Church remaineth, the seat of him that liveth for ever (my flesh trembleth to write these things:) this did before beget the foresaid Patriarchal Churches (notorious falshood) which rested as daughters in her bosome, and as servants stood about in her obedience.

William Johnson.

Num. 402. Why should *your flesh tremble at these words*, I am sorry to see you so subject to *quaking* upon so small occasion. Read you not a thousand times over in holy writ that *Hierusalem* is called the city of God, and the city of the living God ? is not the arke of the tabernacle, called the seat of God ? why then may not the sea of *Rome* be stiled the seat of God, and of his immaculate lamb ? therefore was *Hierusalem* called the city of God, (amongst other reasons) because the cheif Priest of Gods Church resided there.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 403. *Here you see from the Pope himself, that the other Patriarchs are his servants, and so to obey him, and that Rome begate them all (that were before it except Constantinople) and neither made Christians nor Patriarch by it, and that Rome now is become the seate of the immaculate Lambe , and of him that liveth for ever.*

William Johnson.

Num. 403. But see you not, the text speakes of Patriarchal Seas, and how can you say there were any Patriarchal Seas before *Rome* was one, seeing you conceit they

they were all constituted together in the Council of *Nice*. I have shewed that all obedience, argues not servitude, or being the servants of those wee obey, Children obey their Parents, and Scholars their Masters, and people their pastors, yet are they not his servants. And see you not, that he sayes they are only *tanquam famula* in some short attenders, and joynes to it, *quasi filia*, that they are as children, nor speaks he of the Patriarchs wherein many Millions, who were *quasi filia*, and *tanquam famula*, as daughters, and attendants of the *Roman* sea, and the whole custom and constitution of those Patriarchates, was to serve as mediums, and instruments that the whole Church might more facily be governed by the sea Apostolick, as we shall see hereafter.

Mr. Baxter

Num. 404. *Truely the reading of your own historians, and the Popes Bulls. &c. have more perswaded me, that the Pope is Anti-Christ, then the Apocalips hath done, because I distrusted my understanding of it.*

William Johnson.

Num. 404. Truely Sir, if I may be plain with you without offence, by what you collect from these Historians, Popes &c, you had reason to mistrust your understanding these, as well as the Apocalips &c. which I leave to judgement.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 405. *Benedictus de Benedictis wrote a book*
C c 2 *against*

against Dr. Whitaker, to prove its as false that the Pope is Anti-Christ, as that Christ is Anti-Christ, and dedicated it to Pope Paul 5. with this inscription. Paul 5. the Vice-God printed at Bononia. 1608.

William Johnson.

Num. 405. Suppose that were so, is *Benedictus de Benedictis* a sufficient authority, being but a single Author, or Paul 5. the generality of Popes? you know I speak in such cases and not of particulars.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 406. Caraffas *Theses* printed at Naples 1609. had the same inscription (Paulo 5. Vice Deo) to Paul 5. Vice-God

William Johnson.

Num. 406. The like is of *Caraffa*.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 407. *Alcazar* in Apocal. in carmine ad Johannem Apostolum, saith of the same Pope, Paul 5. Quem numinis instar, vera colit pietas: whom as a God true Piety adores.

William Johnson.

Num. 407. Nor is *Alcazar* more then one private, person who when he plaies the Poet, uses *Licentia Poetica, qui dlibet audendi*.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Num. 408. *What Marcellus said to Julius 2.*
 Num. 410. *Mr. Baxter makes the gloss upon
 the Canon Law, to be the Canon Law; he mis-
 scites the words of the gloss, whether the Glosser cal-
 the Pope God, or the Printer err'd in inserting the
 word Deum into some late impression.* Num. 412.
*Antonius Puccius gives no more to the Pope, then
 Pulcheria and the Council of Chalcedon gave
 to the Emperour Martian.* Num. 413. *Begnus
 mistaken and mistranslated. Stephanus Petracen-
 sis miscited. St. Bernard condemned. St. Anto-
 nine miscalled by Mr. Baxter.* Num. 414. *the
 Oecumenical power of the four first Councils vin-
 dicated by authority and reason.*

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 408. *Christopher Marcellus in his Oration be-
 fore Pope Julius 2. in the approved Council at Latarane,
 Sess. 4. (and you take not contradicting to be consen-
 ting) and verily to such blasphemy in a Council, so it is,
 saith thus, Quum tantæ reipublicæ unicus atque supremus
 princeps fueris institutus, beatissime Pontifex, cui summa
 data potestas ad divinum injunctum imperiû, &c.) & an-
 te (sub tuo imperio) & (unus Princeps qui summam in
 terris habeat potestatem.) But these are small things.
 Teque omnis ævi, omnium seculorum, omnium gentium*

principem & caput appellant.) *But yet (the Prince and head of all ages and Nations, is too low (cura, Pater beatissime, ut sponsæ tuæ forma decorque redeat.) But yet to make the Church (his Spouse) is nothing (cura denique, ut salutem quam dedisti nobis, ut vitam & spiritum non amittamus : Tu enim Pastor, tu medicus, tu gubernator, tu cultor, tu denique alter Deus in terris) That is (see that we lost not the health that thou hast given us, and the life and spirit. For thou art the Pastor, the Physician &c. To conclude, thou art another God on earth.)*

William Johnson.

Num. 408. *Marcellus* is indeed of more concern, because he speaks in a Council, but the world may see he play'd the Orator, his first expressions are no way extravagant, but true, and proper; that of *divinum imperium* is so altered by you &c, that it seems a riddle, you interlace it thus, *ad divinum imperium, &c. & ante (sub tuo imperio) & (unus princeps qui summam in terris habeat potestatem,* to the divine command injoyn'd, &c.) and before (under thy command, &c. and (one prince which hath the highest power in earth) riddle me, riddle me, what's this? Now that particle *ad divinum injunctum imperium* is not spoken of the Popes power, but of Gods divine command, obliging *Julius* to take care of those who were committed to him, for he layes thus, *cum igitur tanta-reipublica unicus atque supremus princeps fueris institutus cui summa data potestas, ad divinum injunctum imperium, tuum est, quemadmodum oppressum armis erexisti, amplificasti, ita moribus depravatam rulem reformare, corrigere, illustrare.* That of styling the Church his Spouse, had he meant

meant it of the whole Church militant and triumphant, had been very extravagant, and directly false and scandalous, but applying it only to the visible Church on earth, which is the more ignoble part of Christs Church; I see not why that may not be termed, according to the sole external government of it, his Spouse : as much as particular Bishopricks or parts of the visible Church, are usually stiled the Spouses of their respective Bishops, and they said to be espoused to those respective Churches. His exhorting *Julius* to preserve the health, life, and spirit which he had given them, is easily explicated, that he both gave them, and preserved them, by a careful direction teaching an external governing the visible Church. His last stiling him *alter Deus in terris*, another God upon earth, is that which offends you most, but had you considered, that *Moses* in holy Scripture is made by God himself, the God of *Pharaoh*; that God titles those who are in lawful authority Gods, *ego dixi dii estis*, I have said you are Gods; and that *St. Paul* affirms that all Gods true servants, and children are *participes divina natura*, participant of the divine nature, which are as high and much higher expressions, then *Marcellus* gives here to *Julius*, you would not I suppose so confidently have impeached him of blasphemy; nor indeed could, unless you make both *St. Paul* and the holy Scriptures, nay and God himself, to pronounce blasphemies in applying the like titles to living men : especially seeing that as the holy Scriptures give ground enough to interpreters, to expound them in such accomodated senses, that there are not the least appearances of errors, much less of blasphemy in them, so *Marcellus* here gives all the world to understand by many other passages of this Oration, he speaks in such a manner usual to Orators here, that there is not

the least shew of blasphemy at all in them. Now the Council having heard the whole Oration, and not only those parcels, which you have spitefully cul'd out of it, discover'd clearly what his meaning was, and thereupon the Fathers let these expressions pass, as flashes of Rhetorick.

Mr. Baxter,

Num. 409. *If you say that the Pope accepteth not this; I answer, it was in an Oration spoken in a general Council, in his presence, without contradiction, yea by his own command, as the Orator professeth (iustificati, Pater sancte, & parui) (you commanded me, holy Father, and I obeyed, Binnius, pag. 562, 563, 564. you may find all this.*

William Johnson.

Num. 409. I reply, the Pope accepted it in that same sense as the Council did, and as the other clauses, conceal'd by you, declar'd it to be *Marcellus* his meaning, and no man who reads the whole Oration, can suspect the least thought of blasphemy against Christ, or God in it.

Mr. Baxter,

Num. 410. *In gloss. extravag. Johan. 22. de verb. signific. cum inter, in gloss. Credere Dominum nostrum Deum Papam conditorem dictæ decretalis & istius, non potuisse statuere prout statuit, hæreticum censeatur. So that by your Law, we must believe the power of your Lord God the Pope, or be hereticks. If you meet with any*
Im-

Impressions that leave out (Deum) take Rivets note. Haberi in editione formata jussu Greg. 12. à correctoribus Pontificiis, nec in censuris Glossæ jussu. Pii. 5. editis, quæ in expurgatorio indice habentur Dei Erasmus fuisse.

William Johnson.

Num. 410. You erre more then once here. First you commit a tautologie, in repeating the words in *glossa* twice without any necessity: for you say thus, in *glossa extravag. Ioan. 22. de verb. significat. cap. Cum inter, in glossa montibus inquit erant, & erant in montibus illis.* 2. You misplace the words themselves, for whereas the Gloss set forth by order of *Greg. 13. Colum. 153. verbo declaramus*, hath the words thus, *Credere autem Dominum Deum nostrum Papam conditorem dicti decret. & istius, sic non potuisse statueri, &c.* you transplace the words thus, *Credere Dominum nostrum Deum Papam conditorem dicti decret. &c.* where you joyn the words, *Deum & Papam* immediately together, which are disjoyn'd in the Gloss. Thirdly, you corrupt the Text, for the words are *hereticum censeretur*, it would be thought heretical, and you put it, *hereticum sententur*, let it be judg'd heretical, or be it judg'd heretical, and this to make your Reader believe it is a Law or Precept, put in the Imperative mood, when it is no more then the judgement of a private Doctor, glossing upon the Law, or giving an interpretation of it, and by this false play, you give a seeming force to your immediate inference, drawn from these words, *viz. So that by your Law* (say you) *we must believe the power of your Lord God the Pope, or be hereticks.* Whereby you manifestly impose upon your Reader, that these words are

our

our Law, whereas you your self confesse, they only are a part of the glosse, which was made by a particular person, or interpretation of our Law. Fifthly hence followes that you contradict your self within four lines, for in the first and second line of this paragraph you confesse twice over, 'tis but a glosse of the law, and in the fift line you say it is the law it self. Your seventh and ninth error is, that you give here a *non proof* for a *proof*, for seeing you acknowledge some impressions have not the word *Deum, God*, as appeares evidently in the edition of *Paris An. 1522.* where the word *Deum, God*, is not 63 yeares older then that of *Gregory the 13.* How will you ever prove this *Glosser* used this word but that it was ignorantly added by some copieft, or false print to the text. Yet suppose it were certain (as I have prov'd it is not) that this *Glosser* had adjoyned the Word *Deum, God*, it would be no proof at all; for in this paragraph he refers what he delivered there, to the correction of the Church, *Si in premissis vel in aliquo premissarum contingeret me errare*, if (saith he) I should happen to erre in any of the premises.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 410. Pope Nicholas 3. de elect. cap. fundamenta in 6. saith, that Peter was assumed into the Society of the individual Trinity.

William Johnson.

Num. 410. What then? *ergo* he call's the Pope the Vice-Christ or the Vice-God? thats right. Sayes not St. Paul, that God hath called us into the Society of his Son? are we therefore made equal to him, or Vice-Christ?
sayes

sayes he not, that if we accompany him in his passion, we shall accompany him in his resurrection? & is not that as much as to be assumed into the Society of the individual Trinity? are not Children taken by their Parents into their Societie, are they therefore not inferiour to them? what consequences are these? nay are not all the holy Angels & Saints in heaven in the Society of the individual Trinity? do they not see him face to face and as he is? is not that to be in Society with him?

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 411. Angelus Polit. in orat. ad Alexan. 6. Pontificem ab Divinitatem ipsam sublatum asserit: *He saith, the Pope was taken up to the God-head it self.*

William Johnson.

Num. 411. He might have said as much of any Saint in Heaven, without making them Gods, or Vice-Gods; are they not all taken up to the divinity, when they enjoy God, and see him face to face? collect if you can from these words, a confutation of what I affirm, that the title of Vice-Christ, was given by sufficient authority to the Popes, and accepted by them? are all the Saints and Angels in heaven Vice-Christ?

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 412. *At the foresaid Council at Laterane, Antonius Puccius in an Oration before Leo the tenth in the Council, and after published by his favour, said (Divinxit tur Majestatis conspectus, rutilante cujus fulgore imbecill'es oculi mei caligant. His eyes were darkened with*

with beholding the Popes Divine Majesty. None contradicted this.

William Johnson.

Num. 412. But what if you collect the title of Vice-Christ, from any of these sentences here cited by you, is either *Antonius Puccius*, or *Simon Beginus*, or *Stephanus Patracensis*, or *Paulus Emilinus*, or *August. Triumphus*, or *Zabarella*, or *Bertrandus*, of sufficient authority to conferre a solemn title upon Popes, because in particular rhetorical *Euloginus*, and some of them haply by way of assentation, they extend their expressions farther, then either the Church Canons, or the consent of classick Authours warrant them? If you had proceeded like a Scholar, to confute my assertion, you should have alleadged either some Popes, who inserted *Vice-Christus*, *Vice-Christ*, into their titles, or, who taught it in their publick Bulls, or writings to be due to them; or at least some Council or consent of Catholick Doctours, who give him that title, or prove it to belong to him. But to draw a solemn title, from Orators, Poets, Rhetoricians & Encomiasticks what is it but a trifle & to give rather an intertainment then an argument to your Readers. And for *Antonius Puccius* he sayes no more here to the Pope, then was given in time of the Council of *Chacedon* to the Emperour *Martian* by *Pulcheria* the Emperresse, who sayes, *Litera Divinitatis ejus*; the letters of his Divinity: and even by the Fathers of that Council *Martian* is called *divinissimus* most divine Con. Chal. Act. apud *Binius* Tom. 2. p. 106.

Mr. Bay-

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 413. *In the same Council*, Simon Beginus Modrusiensis Episcopus, in an oration Joss. 6. calls Leo the Lyon of the tribe of Juda, the roas of Jesse, him whom they had looked for as the Saviour.

William Johnson.

Num. 413. It seems you either took these authorities on trust, or read them very cursorily over. *Beginus* says not *Radix Jesse*; the root of *Jesse* (as you have it) but *Radix David* the root of *David*. And his meaning is perverted by you, culling out those words from the rest, conjoyned to them in the Oration: for it is evident that he gives Pope *Leo* these titles, in allusion to his name, and applies them only restrictively, to the saving, or preserving the *Roman* Church from the invasions of *Turkes* and Hereticks, then appearing, and threatning Christendome: this is so evident, that no man can read the oration, and not see it. Now what crime is there in calling him a *Saviour*, in this particular external preservation. Why did you not fall as heaveie upon the holy Scripture *Judicum* 3, 15. for intitling *Ehud* a *Saviour*, and 4 Reg. 13. 5. that the same title is given to *Joas*. But here you shew your spleen and cunning in translating the word *Salvatorem*, the *Saviour*, as if *Beginus* made the Pope to be Christ, he only having due to him the title, of being called the *Saviour*.

Mr. Bar-

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 414. *In the same Council Sess. 10.* Steph. Patracensis Archiep. saith, (Reges in compedibus magnitudinis magni regis liga, & nobiles in manicis ferreis censurarum constringe, quoniam tibi data est omnis potestas in cœlo & in terra) and before (qui totum dicit, nihil excludit.) So that all power in Heaven and Earth is given to the Pope.

Paulus Emilius de gestis Francor. lib. 7. saith that the Sicilian Embassadors lay prostrate at the Popes feet, & thrice repeated, thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.

And prove to me, that ever any such man was reprehended for these things by the Popes of late.

Augustinus Triumphus in præfat. sum. ad Johan. 22. saith that the Popes power is infinite: for great is the Lord, great is his power, & of his greatnesse there is no end.

And qu. 36. ad 6. He saith, that (the Pope influenceth, or giveth) the Motion of direction, and the sense of cognition, into all the members of the Church, for in him we live and move and have our being.

And a little after he saith, (The will of God, and consequently of the Pope, who is his vicar, is the first and highest cause of all Corporal and spiritual motions)

Would you have more witnesse of the falshood of your words, Saith Zabarella I. C. lib de Schism. Innocent 7. and Bened. pag. 20. For this long time past, and even to this day, those that would please the Popes, perswaded them that they could do all things: and so they might do what they pleased, even things unlawful, and so more then God.)

Antonius

Antonius parte 3. tit. 21. cap. 5. 4. Saith, the Pope receiveth faithful adorations, prostrations, and kisses of his feet, which Peter permitted not from Cornelius, nor the Angel from John the Evangelist.

Cardinalis Bertrandus Tract. de Origin. jurid. q. 4. num. 4. (& in Glos. extrag. com. 1. 1. fol. 12.) saith, Because Jesus Christ the Son of God while he was in this world, and even from Eternity, was a natural Lord, and by natural right could pronounce the sentence of deposition on Emperours, or any others, and the sentence of damnation, and any other, as upon the Persons which he had created, and endowed with natural and free gifts, and also did conserve; it is his will that on his account his vicar may do the same things. For the Lord should not seem discreet (that I may speak with his reverence) unless he had left behinde him one vicar that can do all these things.

Tell me now whether you said true in the Paragraph about the title Vice-Christ? yea, whether it be not much more that hath been given and accepted.

But what name else is that you agree on as proper to express the power which is controverted? I know no name so fitted to the real controversie; and therefore in disclaiming the Name, for ought I know, you disclaime your cause, and confess the shame of Popery. If he that seeks to the King of England, should say, he disclaimeth the title of the King as insolent and proud, doth he not allow me to conclude the same of the thing, which he concludeth of the proper name? the Name (Papa) (Pope) you know (its like) was usually by the ancients given to other Bishops as well as to him of Rome; and therefore that cannot distinguish him from other men: the same I may say of the titles (Dominus Pater sanctissimus, Dei amantissimus, and many such like) And for
(summus

(summus Pontifex) Baroni^{us} tells you (Martirol. Rom. April. 9.) that (it was the ancient Custome of the Church to call all Bishops, not only Pontifices, Popes, but the highest or chief Popes) citing Hierom. Ep. 99. And for the word head of the Church, or of all Bishops, it hath been given to Constantinople, that yet claimeth not (as Nilus tells you) neither a precedence to Rome, nor an universal Government, much less as the Vice-Christ. And that the Bishop of Constantinople was called (the Apostolick Universal Bishop) : Baroni^{us} testifieth from an old Vatican monument, which, on the other side calls Agapetus (Episcoporum Princeps.) the Title (Apostolick) was usually given to others. Hierusalem was called the (Mother of the Churches.) A Council gave Constantinople the Title of (universal Church) which though Gregory pronounced so impious and intolerable for any to use, yet the following Popes made an agreement with Constantinople, that their Patriarch should keep his Title of universal Patriarch, and the Bishop of Rome be called (the universal Pope) which can signifie nothing proper to him, (the name Pope being common) more then (universal Patriarch) doth the foundations and Pillars of the Church, and the Apostles successors : yea Peters successors were Titles given to others as well as him, and more then these. It being therefore the point in controversie between us, whether the Bishop of Rome be in the place of Christ or as his Vicar, the Head, Monarch or Governour of the Church universal ; and the termes (Vice-Christi, & Vicarius Christi) being those that Popes and Papists choose to signifie their claim, what other sho^{uld} I use ?

Johnson

William Johnson.

Num. 414. This discourse of yours is defective many ways. First it is fallacious, *ex insufficiente enumeratione partium*, For amongst all the titles you have reckoned you have not that of *Pontifex maximus* (and the like may be said of many others) which is peculiar to the Bishop of *Rome*, and was never attributed to any other, nor was any other ever intitled, *Vicarius-Christi*, the Vicar of Christ, nor *Episcopus universalis Ecclesie*, Bishop of the universal Church, nor *Caput omnium sacerdotum Dei*, the head of all Priests of God; save the Pope; see how much you are out in the accounts. Secondly, it is corrupt, for you fall againe (as you did in your key *ut supra*) to translate *Pontifex* Pope, and *summus Pontifex*, Chief Pope. Thirdly you assert the same things without proof, as that *Head of the Church was given to Constantinople that the Popes made an agreement with Constantinople; that their Patriarch should keep the title of universal Patriarch, and the Bishop of Rome be called the universal Pope*. Fourthly you speak equivocally, for though *summus Pontifex* (as *Baronius* notes) was given anciently to all Bishops; yet that was in relation to inferiour Clerks, not to all, even Bishops, Metropolitans, and Patriarchs, as it is given to the Bishop of *Rome*. So that *Summus Pontifex* in *Baronius* his sense signifies no more then a chief or highest Priest, but ascribed to the Pope it signifies the chief and the highest Bishop, and is con-significant with *Pontifex Maximus*, which *Baronius* affirms to be peculiar to the Pope, as I have already noted: you equivocate also in the title of *Saint Peters successors*, as I have declared above, for though other

D d

Bishops

Bishops may be said to be his successors *secundum quid* in some part of his Ecclesiastical power, *viz.*, as he was a Bishop, yet none can be said to be his successor simpliciter, absolutely and intirely, that is in the fulnesse of his power, as he was Prince of the Apostles, and chief Bishop of Gods visible Church, as it is visible, save the Bishop of *Rome*; for the reason above alleadged by me, and thus much your self must grant, according to your own principles; for though you assert other Bishops to be his successors in his Episcopal dignity, yet, seeing you grant him a precedency of place before all other Bishops and Patriarchs, as *Saint Peter* had precedency before all the rest of the Apostles, for otherwise he could not have been as the Ancient Fathers familiarly call him, *Princeps Apostolorum*, the Prince and chief amongst the Apostles, for that must at least signifie a principallity in place and rank, seeing I say you yield him this precedency, none can have been successor to *Saint Peter* in the full extent of his dignity, save the Bishop of *Rome*.

As to the particular Authours you cite here, you have very ill luck in your citations, you first produce these words *qui totum dicit, nihil excludit*, as spoken by *Stephanus Patracensis*, when they are *St. Bernards* words, and cited by this *Stephanus*, out of his book *de consideratione* to *Eugenius* the Pope, and to which words of *St. Bernard* *Stephanus Alcides* in this place So that you cannot condemn him, unlesse you condemn *Saint Bernard* for using that allusion out of Scripture to the Pope. The meaning of this Author is no more then this, that he having before termed the Church *Celum* Heaven, he prosecutes that metaphor, and by Heaven means nothing but Ecclesiastical persons, and by earth those of the laity: for he speakes first of Bishops and Prelates,

Prélates, and then of Christian Kings and Princes, saying to the Pope, *Et vera reformatio fiat tam in spiritualibus, quam in temporalibus, ubicunque terrarum tuo decreto diffusa fuerit*, after which he adds immediately, *Accipe ergo gladium divina potestatis &c. Quia tibi data est omnis potestas in calo & in terra. Antoninus*, whom you very leardnedly call *Antonius*, in that place of his History, (if you mean that) has not one word, of what you cite here. *Paulinus Emilinus, Augustin, Triumphus, Zabarella*, and *Bertrandus* I have not yet seen, but these are only particular Authors, not of sufficient authority (which I required) to conferre the title of the Vice-Christ upon Popes, nor yet do they so much as mention any such title. Now these authorities were either alleadged by you to confute my position, denying the title of Vice-Christ was given him by sufficient authority; or they so many pure ~~winnow~~ and proofs in the air: you pretend by these allegations, to prove, against my assertion, that the title of the Vice-Christ is given by authority to our Popes, and accepted by them, and to prove this, you cite five particular Authors, whereof not so much as one, names the title of the Vice-Christ. Is not this as much as to say, they give him not the title of Vice-Christ, ergo, they give him the title of Vice-Christ? Sure you dream'd of logick, when you writ this, yet farther, if these five authorities prove any thing against us, tis, that they make the Pope not the Vice-Christ, but Christ himself, or of equal power with him; and one of them that the Pope is of greater power then God himself, which is directly contrary to your prettice, for no Vice-King is the King, nor of equal power with the King. If you reply, in proving they make him equal to God, and Christ &c. They prove more then was undertaken to be proved, and that they

make him higher then the Vice-Christ. And secondly you may please to remember, you had two things to prove, the first, that the Popes were held by sufficient authority amongst us to be the *Vice-Christ*, and secondly that the Popes accepted of that title. Now though you had prov'd that some have given them eulogiums, sounding something more then the *Vice-Christ*, yet that will neither prove it was done by sufficient authority, nor, unlesse you prove the Popes have accepted them, (which you never so much as essay to doe) your intent in these proofs; for the authorities you alledge are not sufficient to ground a publick & solemn title, so that your Thesis is left bare and naked yet without proof. You say here, the ancient Councils, though call'd General, yet were but of one principallity, that is as (you have often affirmed) their authority extended no farther then the Empire, so that in effect they were not truly general, but national, or provincial. Now I have already produced many reasons to repressse this your grand novelty, and prov'd manifestly that in some of these Councils, were many Bishops out of *Spain*, *France*, and *Germany*, or at least that these Councils had power and jurisdiction over the Churches in those Nations, after they were separated from the *Roman* Empire under other Kings and Governours. I will now endeavour to shew, that there were extra-imperial Bishops in the four first Councils, and that such as were out of the Empire subjected themselves to their determinations, as to such, as were obligatory through the whole Church, concerning the first.

In the first Council of *Nice*, *Theophilus Gothia Metropolis*, Bishop of *Gothia*, in the farthest parts of the *North* beyond *Germany* *Dominus Bospori*, Bishop of *Bosporus* a citty of *Thracia*, *Cimmeria* or *India*

India, as Cosmographers declare the Bishop of *Botra*, a City of this name is found in *Arabia*, and *Sala*, a Town also of great *Phrygia*, the higher *Pannonia*, and *Armenia* is so called as *Ptolomeus* notes, l. 4. c. 1. *Iohannes Persidis* of *Persia*, which was not under the Roman Empire, as you acknowledge above.

In the first Council of *Constantinople*, the second General, were three Bishops of *Scythia*. And *Etherius Anchialensis*, now *Anchialos*, is a City in *Thracia*, not far from great *Apollonia*.

In the first Council of *Ephesus*, the third General, was *Phebamon Coptorum Episcopus*, the Bishop of *Kopri*, *Theodulus Elnsa Episcopus*, anciently a City of *Arabia*, *Theodorus Gadarorum Episcopus*, of that name is a City in *Cava-Syria*. In the Council of *Chalcedon*, the fourth General, was present *Antipater Bostrorum Episcopus*, a City in *Arabia*, *ut supra*. *Olympius Scythopoleos*, which is a City of the *Scythians* in *Cale-syria*. *Eustathius Gentis Saxacenorum*, of *Saraca*, there is a City so called in *Arabia-Felix*. *Constantinus Episcopus Bostrorum* in *Arabia*. *Subscriptus quidam pro Glaco Gerassa Episcopo*, *Gerasa* is a City in *Cale-syria*. Now 'tis evident that the Fathers of those general Councils in all their decrees, constitutions and Canons, intended to oblige all Christians through the whole world, and thereby demonstrated themselves to have jurisdiction over the whole Church, and never so much as insinuated that their authority was limited within the precincts of the Empire. Thus the Council of *Ephesus* says their decrees was for the good of the whole world. Thus the Council of *Chalcedon*, *act. 7 apud Bin. tome 2. pag. 105.* declares the Church of *Antioch* to have under its government *Arabia*, and *act. 16. cap. 28. apud Bin.* (which you hold for a

Genuine Canon,) that the Bishop of *Constance* should have under him certain Churches in barbarous Nations, which you must prove to have been then under the Empire. The first Council of *Constance* (in that Canon which you admit about the authority of the Bishop of *Constantinople*) makes a decree concerning those Churches which were amongst the *Barbarians*, that they should be governed according to the ancient custome, no wayes restraining the Canon to those only which were under the Empire. Thus *Nicephorus lib. 15. hist. Ecclesiast. c. 16.* relates that *Leo* the Emperour writ to the Bishops of all Provinces together (*circulæribus per orbem literis ad Ecclesias missis, Leo hac sic ad omnes ubique Episcopos misit*; which he accounts, were above a thousand) to have them subscribe to the Council of *Chalcedon*. And in correspondence to those letters of the Emperour, the Bishops of the second *Armenia*, which seem to have been out of the Empire, writ an answer, wherein they affirm the Council of *Nice* conferr'd peace upon all the Catholick Churches founded thorough the whole world; to wit, by teaching them to defend *ipſent*, against *Arius*, and call the Council of *Chalcedon* twice œcumenical and general; and *Adelphus* a Bishop of *Arabia* subscribes amongst the rest to this Epistle.

The Bishops of the second *Mefnia*, which you must prove to have then been under the Empire, writ that the Council of *Nice* deliver'd the Faith *toto orbi terrarum*, to the whole world; they stile also the Roman Bishop the head of Bishops, and that the Council of *Chalcedon* was gathered by Pope *Leo's* command, who since they call him head of Bishops, they extend his power, and consequently the power of that general Council gather'd by him, to all Bishops and Churches in the world. To this

this Epistle subscribes *Dita* Bishop of *Odessa* in *Scythia*. It is manifest also that the Bishops of *Spain*, *France*, and *Germany*, who were not under the Emperour in time of the third and fourth general Councils, submitted themselves to their decrees, and esteem'd themselves obliged to it, as you cannot deny.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 415. *As to what you say of the Council of Constance (which you must say also of Basil, and of the French Church, Venetians, &c. you pretend the doubt to be only between ordinary and extraordinary Governours. But 1. of old the Councils called General (indeed but of one principality) were more ordinary then now the Pope hath brought them to be, and I blame him not, if he will hold his greatness, to take heed of them.)*

William Johnson.

Num. 415. I wonder you have the boldness to say general Councils were more ordinary (that is) more frequent of old then now they are, seeing that from *St. Peters* dayes till 300. years after *Christ* there was not so much as one general Council in the Church; was the Church (think you) all that time governed by general Councils as by its ordinary Governour? but what mean you by *more ordinary*, you equivocate in the word *ordinary*, for you by that word can mean no more then *frequent*, whereas I take *ordinary*, (as it is taken in the Canon Law) for that which is of it self, not frequently, but alwayes required for the Churches government, and without which the Church cannot be rightly governed. Thus a King is the ordinary head and supream

Governour in his Kingdom, and though Parliaments be ordinarily, that is, frequently called, yet they cannot be said, to be the ordinary governours of the Kingdom. You play and dally with words, not understanding the sense, but the sound of them.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 416. *The way not to have been extraordinary, if the Council of Constance had been infallible, or of sufficient power, who decreed that there should be one every ten years.*

William Johnson.

Num. 416. Here you use the same equivocation in the word extraordinary, that you did just now in the word ordinary, you call that extraordinary which is not frequent or happens but seldom, when the true sense in which I speak, and which you should oppose is this, that which is not alwayes of its own nature necessary for the Churches government, nor perpetually in use and power, whether it be frequent, or not frequent, that is ordinary, or extraordinary in your mistaken sense. But I would intreat you hereafter, to reflect a little more of what you write, you hasten so much, that you leave sense behind you. *The way (say you) not to have been extraordinary, if the Council of Constance had been infallible, or of sufficient power, who decreed that there should be one every ten years.* Here's a nominative case, *the way*, &c. without a verb.

Mr.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 417. *The Councils that continue so many years as that at Trent did, are then become an ordinary Government.*

William Johnson.

Num. 417. Here you fall into a second Equivocation about the word *ordinary*, that which lasts about twenty years in the Church with a sovereign power, must be for the time they so continue the ordinary governour of the Church, where you take ordinary for that which continues a considerable space of time. See you not, how handsomely you insinuate here, that the late long Parliament (which continued about as long as did the Council of *Trent*) was for that time become with you and your abettors the ordinary Sovereign governour of the Kingdome, and thereby his Majesty was excluded from being ordinary Sovereign over it, I hope this will be noted too.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 418. *Fourthly what is given to the Church representative, is by many of you given to the Church real or essential (as you call it) which is ordinarily existent, only not capable of exerting the power it hath: the singulis major, ut universis minor, is no rare doctrine with you.*

William

William Johnson.

Num. 418. Here you fumble in the dark, I pray unriddle this in your next, for I cannot, what is that wee give to the Church real, and representative ? wherein is the Church real not able to exert its power ? what mean you by *singulis major*, and *universis minor*, to whom apply you this, or to what purpose ?

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 419. *Fistly, but let it be as extraordinary as you please, if while these Councils sit, the Pope lose his headship, your Church is then two Churches specifically distinct, and the form of it changeth when a Council sitteth : not like the Sponse of Jesus Christ.*

William Johnson.

Num. 419. You should have done well to have prest this argument, against those who hold Councils to be above the Pope, it touches not me at all, who am of the contrary opinion ; yet even those of that opinion will answer you with a wet finger, that the Church hath neither then two heads, nor loses the Pope his headship : for he remaines chief *ordinary* governour of the Church in all ordinary causes and cases ; as well when there is, as when there is not a Council, and he being as ordinary head of the Church, the chief president in the Council, the Council is not its chief governour with exclusion of the Pope, because it cannot be a true general Council but by including him in it. So that he with the rest of the Bishops assembled make up the Council,
you

you cannot therefore divide the Council from him, un-
 lesse you divide him from himself, so that he and a
 general Council are not two things, adequately distant,
 but involve him in it, as a humane body involves the
 head, or a Parliament the King.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 420. *Sixtly, As your Popes are said to live
 in their constitutions and laws, when the person dieth ;
 and your Church is not thought by you to die with them,
 so why may not Councils do ? The lawes of Councils live
 when they sit not, and the French think that these lawes
 are above the Pope, though I shewed you even now that
 Julius 2. in Con. Lateran. concluded otherwise of
 Decrees, and the Council of the Popes power.*

William Johnson.

Num. 420. Let them remain in their decrees as
 much as you please, but that will never make them the
 ordinary chief governours of the Church, they remain
 no more in their degrees, then did our ancient Parlia-
 ments in their Statutes, yet no man dare say, who is a
 good subject, that those Parliaments were therefore the
 ordinary soveraign governours of the Kingdome, taken
 exclusively without the King.

Mr. Baxter.

Num. 421. *Seventhly, If a Nation be governed
 by Triennial (and so Decennial) Parliaments as the
 highest power and Councils of State ; in the intervals
 who shall be accountable to Parliaments : will you say
 these*

these Parliaments are extraordinary and not the ordinary Sovereign? no doubt they are. And the Council of State is the Sovereign, but the chief Officer or Magistrate for execution of the intervals.

William Johnson.

Num. 421. Hitherto you have discoursed warily, and covertly, but now you discover openly your opinion of State government. 'Tis well you put an *if* to it, and make it a conditional, that will save you at a dead lift, but yet every one sees by it, how great an approver you were of the sovereignty of irregular Parliaments, and authority of Councils of State, for you speak not of what might be, but what then was, when you writ this; but I wonder you were so bold as to let this see light (as you did before something like it) even since the most happy returne of his Sacred Majestie. Let others judge of such passages as these.

Thus farre Mr. *Baxter* produces his answer to my argument and instances, the last four pages are spent in confident repetition of what is now answered, a prescription of what he would impose upon me to be Sylogistically proved, a prophesie of Christs speedy coming to judgement, a wholesome admonition to take help from others to be able to encounter him, *scilicet*, a whole Army of such Pigmees as I, is not able to encounter him, he is so great a Giant; but let the Reader judge whether something like that hath not hapned unto him, which hapned to such an other whilst he exprobad and outfaced the hosts of the living God. 1 Reg. 17. 49. 50. And it may be thought of also, whether the 16 Chap. v. 6. of *Esay* may not be appliable to him, *audivimus Superbiam Moab, Superbus est valde, superbia ejus*

eius & arrogantia eius, & indignatio eius, plus quam fortitudo eius. Finally which is only worth observance, he adds an earnest request to make a favorable exposition of what he fears may be thought too confident and earnest in his expressions, which I freely pardon, and beg a free pardon of God for him. This as it is no part of his answer, so can it not challenge any part of my reply, I leave the whole process to the impartial Reader, and expect Mr. *Baxters* rejoinder.

Novelty Represt.

The third Part.

In a brief Answer to Mr. *Baxters* second part.

Quest. *Whether the Churches of which Protestants are Members, have been visible ever since the dayes of Christ on earth?*

CHAP. I.

Mr. *Baxters* definitions and divisions.

Num. 1. He defines the Church. Num. 2. His former solutions have rendred his definition of the Church insignificant; he defines Protestants the nullity of that definition; he speaks irreverently and unchristianly of the Catholique Church. Whether the profession of a Protestant shew him to be as much an univocal Christian, as the profession of a Papist shews him to be a Papist. Num. 3. The reason why Protestants general profession of Christianity makes them no univocal Chri-

Christians. Num. 4. Mr. Baxter frames again a monster, having a visible body, without a visible head. Num. 5, 6, 7. His 6. first syllogismes are out of form, and thereby are 6. Non-proofs. Num. 11. Mr. Baxter's skill in logical terms. Num. 13. Whether Mr. Baxter, or any formal Protestant be infallibly certain, they love God and their neighbour as they ought to do? Num. 15. &c. 13. authorities, 13. Non-proofs, to shew the sufficiency of sole Scripture.

This question Mr. Baxter resolves affirmatively, pag. 197.

1. You first prefix an explication of termes, from p. 197. to p. 204. which is of no concern to my argument, nor of much to your answer; I note only *obiter*, these particulars p. 198. you define the universal visible Church, thus, *It is the whole company of believers (or true Christians) upon earth subject to Iesus Christ their head*: where you first make *believers* and *true Christians* Synonimæ; whereas one not baptized may be a believer, but no Christian, for he is made a Christian by baptism, being before a Catechumen; and then you assert the visible Church to consist as well of Catechumens as of baptiz'd Christians, which is absonous, for by baptism they are made Church-members.

2. You use the word *subject* to Christ, in your definition which according to you, (*ut supra*) is equivocal, and thereby unfit to be part of a definition, and may signifie no more (according to you) then one of an inferiour rank and order, who is not under the government of another, so that when you say *subject* to Christ

Christ, &c. you may expresse no more by the word subject then that they are *inferiour* to Christ, and that Christ is to take place of all Christians; nor can you distinguish your self from this difficultie, by alleadging, you say they are subject to Christ *their head*, for you speak equivocally in the word *head* too, according to the former principles where you were forc'd to say head signifies no more then a *principal member*, proceeding, but not governing the rest. In the same page you define Protestants thus, *Protestants are Christians protesting against or disallowing Poperie*, which is worse then the former, for you cannot be ignorant that the first Origin of the word *Protestant* proceeded from the Elector of *Saxony*, Landgrave of *Hassia* and some few other Princes of their faction, protesting against the imperial Edict decreed at *Wormes* an. 1526, the observance whereof was established in the diet at *Spire* 1529, about the not changing any thing in the Churches practise publickly and commonly used before their times till a general Council was assembled, and made decrees about it; ; Now it is evident these Princes protested against Popery, and disowned it some years before this, and yet were not termed Protestants for that reason. Take you your self to be a man of so uncontrollable authority, as to make new impositions, and give new significations to words as your fancie leades you? what? Call you the Greeks for some hundred of yeares *Protestants*, because they protested against that which they esteem Popery, the Popes supremacy: the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, &c. I am sure they execrate that appellation as much, nay more, then they do Popery: nor were they ever termed Protestants, till you call'd them so. Are the new *Arians* in *Polonia*. *Antitrinitarians* in *Sylefia*, *Socinians* in *Holland*, *Hassites* in *Bohemia*,

Bohemia, Anabaptists, Familists, Montanists, Millennaries, Quakers, in England all Protestants? Protest not all these against Poperie? If they be Protestants, Protestants be they, much good do it you with them, you'll say *Arians*, and *Antetrinitarians* are no Christians, but you shall see presently your arguments will prove them as true Christians, as you can prove your self to be for an *Arian* or *Antetrinitarian* will say as you do here page. 199. and 200. *We profess our selves to be of no other Church, and before men a man is to be taken of that Religion and Church of which he professeth himself to be, till he be proved false in that profession.* pag. 199. You say Protestants in relation to our religion, are as a man purged, healed, freed, from Leprosie, Plague, Consumption &c. then sure you make that which you call Popery, to be infected with Leprosie, Plague, Con-

Dr. Fernet, infected with Leprosie, Plague, Con-
Dr. Bramhall. sumption, as some of your Bretheren have done of late, if so, then tell me,

I pray, in your next either that you hold the Catholick-Church in those immediately proceeding your beginnings to be spotted with Leprosy, infected with the Plague, and worn almost to nothing with a mortal Consumption, and consequently teaching dangerous errors, and therefore no man with a false conscience could remain in her external communion, but must have forsaken the communion of all particular Churches in the world, which is abominable in the eares of a Christian: or you make it free from those foul disasters, and then tell me where, and which, that holy visible Catholick Church was pure and unspotted from such diseases in the year, 1500, neer to the time of your first Protestants beginning, pag. 200. you say your profession shews you as much to be a true Christian, as he doth the profession

feſſion of a Papiſt ſhew him to be a Papiſt ; ſee you not the difference ? thouſands and millions deny you to be true Chriſtians, and thoſe not only friends, but enemies alſo of the Pope, as all the Greeks are, notwithstanding all your profeſſion to be ſo ; but not ſo much as one denies thoſe to be Papiſts who profeſs themſelves to be ſo.

3. Pag. 200. Parag. Note, you ſpeak not (ſay you) of internal belief, but of external profeſſion : but there you'r out ; for whatſoever your internal ſincerity be or be not, your very external profeſſion in the particulars of your belief, or rather diſbelief againſt the Roman Church, ſhews your general profeſſion of true Chriſtianity to be falſe, ſo that the one convinces the other of falſity, as (in your principles) an *Arrian* who as you preſently ſay, p. 203. is no Chriſtian, though he ſincerely profeſs the belief of Chriſtianity, yet becauſe that notwithstanding his particular profeſſion of diſbelief of the conſubſtantiality of the Son of God with his Father, ſhews his general profeſſion to be falſe.

4. Page 201. & 202. You renew firſt your error of making a viſible body without a viſible head ; for I have ſhew'd though Chriſts perſon be now viſible, yet as he is head of the militant Church, he is inviſible, that is, he exerts immediately no viſible office, or action in governing his Church, but all are purely internal, ſpiritual, and inviſible. Secondly, you ſay he is *viſus*, ſeen to the triumphant Church ; but where finde you (in your doctrine) any corporal eye amongſt the triumphant to ſee him ? pag. 202. num. 2. you ſay the true Chriſtians were very few, to the *Arrians* in their prevalencie, which you neither prove, nor can prove, for it is manifeſtly falſe ; I omit many ſuch over-reachinges as theſe, that I may come to your proof, *Non-proof* 1. E c 5.

5. Pag. 204. Your first sylogism is out of form, first having never an universal proposition in it, in place of the word *those*, form required, *all those*. Secondly, you put more in the medium of the major, to wit (in its parts) then you do in the medium of your minor, and so make it consist of 4. terms. Thirdly, you make the predicate of the minor, the subject of the conclusion. This is a hopeful beginning; put your sylogism first in form, and then I'll answer it; suppose all adjusted; I deny your minor. *Protestants are no part of that Church on earth whereof Christ is head.* Non-proof 2.

6. Pag. 204. the second sylogism is likewise out of form, having no universal proposition in it. Adde *all* to your major to set it in form, and I first deny it. *It is not true, that all who profess true Christian Religion in all its essentials, are members of Christs Church*, for to these essentials they may add some error or non-essential as an essential to them, and thereby destroy faith, as you your self cite *Durandus*, pag. 211. and put a N. B. *nota bene* upon it. I deny also your minor, (but first prove your major, which you have not done) *Protestants professe not the true Christian Religion, in all its essentials*; you prove that in this manner. Non-proof 3.

7. Your third sylogism p. 295. is also out of form, for want of an universal proposition add *All* to your major, & I grant that, and deny your minor. *Protestants profess not so much as God hath promised salvation upon the Covenant of Grace.* Non-proof 4.

Your fourth sylogism is also out of form, not assuming the whole proposition to be proved, for in that proposition was this term, *in the Covenant of Grace*, which is not to be found in this fourth sylogism.

To your fourth sylogism therefore page 205. (supposing it were in form) I deny that part of your major, that Protestants have willingness and diligence to know the true meaning of all the law of nature and holy Scripture, for if they were willing and diligent, they would take the expositions of the universal Church, and not follow their novel interpretations, and private judgements. I deny also that they believe with a saving divine faith any of the mysteries here named, or that their profession general and particular affirm this. *Non-proof 5.*

8. Your 5. sylogism p. 206. nu. 2. is likewise out of form for want of an universal proposition: make it universal, and I deny your major, they profess not so much as Catechumens and Competentes, for those profess to believe implicitly all that was taught as matter of faith by the Catholique Church, in that article, I believe the Catholique Church, which Protestants do not, nor can they do it truly, since their profest disbelief of many points evinces the contrary. *Non-proof 6.*

9. Your 6. sylogism p. 206. nu. 3. is also out of form, for the same reasons, add *all* to the major, I deny your major, their general profession is contradicted by their particular denial of such points as are sufficiently propounded to them, as articles of faith. Secondly, you distinguish not betwixt being implicitly contained in general principles, and being expressly contain'd in the Creeds and Scriptures. Thirdly, Creeds and Scriptures are not enough, traditions and decrees of general Councils in matters of faith must be believed. Fourthly, I deny those Protestants who are such wittingly and willingly, and not excused with invincible ignorance believe any article of faith at all with a supernal saving faith. Thus in six sylogisms you have not so much as one,

in form. So mighty strong is your first argument. *Non-proof 7.*

10. Pag. 206. sect. *ad hominem & infra*, p. 207. you cite *Bellar.* and *Costerus* to no purpose; for our question is not of what is to be believed expressly only, but of what is to be believed, both expressly and implicitly respectively by all Christians.

11. Your second Argument is p. 207. *lit. (b)* I grant your major and deny your minor, Protestants are not members of the true Church as intrinsically informed.

12. Pag. 208. you prove (say you) your *antecedent* or *minor*, which is a Syntax in Logick, and deserves a *ferula*, for no minor can be an antecedent.

Pag. 208. *The antecedent.* I deny your minor, Protestants formally such, have not enough to be brought to the unfeigned love of God above all things, and special love to his servants and unfeigned willingness to obey him; for had they this, they would never have disobeyed and disbelieved all the visible Churches in the world, *anno 1517.* as their first broachers did, and they follow that disbelief to this day.

Pag. 208. I deny your minor, what I deny in the former syllogism, is not in your profession, both general and particular: the second shews the contrary, and contradicts the first, as did the *Arrians (ut supra.)*

13. Pag. 208. nu. 2. I deny you have any certain knowledge or feeling, that you love God or his servants, or willingness to obey his precepts, as you ought to love and obey him, if you be a formal Protestant, for if you be such, your heart deceives you, and your false feelings delude you; please to peruse *Jer. 17. 9. Præsum est cor hominis & inscrutabile, quis cognoscit illud? Ego Dominus scrutans cor & probans renes, qui do unicuique juxta viam suam & juxta fructum adinventionum suar-*

suorum. And *Sapient.* 9. 14. *cogitationes mortalium timida & incerta providentia nostra*: ponder a while the strange delusion which bewitched the Angel or Pastor of *Laodicea*, *Apoc.* 3. 17. *quia dixi, quia dives sum, & locupletatus, & nullius egeo, & nescis quia tu es miser & miserabilis & pauper & cecus & nudus*: consider the *Pharisee*, *Luk.* 18. 13. how much he was deceiv'd in his own judgement of his own state; and let not that saying of the Wise man pass without reflection, *Ecclesiastes*, 9. 1. *Nescit homo utrum odio an amore dignus sit, sed omnia in futurum servantur incerta.* What would you answer to a new *Arrian* or *Antitrinitarian*, &c. nay, to a *Turk* or *Jew*, which you hold to be no Christian, should they urge the like knowledge and feeling in themselves against you, to prove they were members of Gods true Church? what you would reply to them, take as said to your self.

14. *Pag.* 209. *num.* 3. your syllogism is not in form, making the predicate of the minor the subject of the conclusion, for your conclusion in form should not be (as you have it) *Ergo the Church of which the Protestants are members, hath been visible ever since the dayes of Christ on earth*, which is your *Thesis* to be proved, but it ought to have been this; *Ergo the Church which hath been alwayes visible since the dayes of Christ on earth, is that whereof the Protestants are members*, which is not your *Thesis*, nor the thing you are immediately to prove; but supposing it right, I distinguish your major if you mean contained in volutely as in general principles I grant it, if expressly containing all things necessary to salvation, I deny it. Again, I distinguish all things necessary to salvation, either you mean all things necessary to be distinctly known, and expressly believed by all to obtain salvation, and so I grant it, or all things also to

be believed implicitly, and to be distinctly known to all, and so I deny it. These distinctions suppos'd, I deny your consequence, viz. *That the Church whereof Protestants are members, hath been visible ever since the days of Christ on earth.*

15. Pag. 210. your authorities prove nothing, the aforesaid distinctions applied. *Bellar.* and *Costerus* speaks of things necessary to be expressly believed by all. *Regusa* of the Scripture well understood, which include the interpretation of the Church. *Gerson* not of articles of Faith, but of Theological conclusions drawn by private and fallible authority. *Durandus* treats of private conclusions drawn from Scripture by himself (as you cite him) pag. 212. of delivering nothing contrary to Scripture, and of using the interpretation of the Roman Church. *St. Thomas* speaks not a word of Scripture, nor so much as names it, in those words cited by you: and in his *summe de veritate*, adds the interpretation of the Church to Scripture as you cite his words. pag. 213. *Scotus* cited p. 213. is quite against you, he says (add you) that many needful things are not expressed in Scripture, but virtually contained, which is not protestant, but sound catholick doctrine. *Gregor. Ariminensis* p. 14. speaks not of points of faith, but of Theological conclusions drawn by private discourse, which is not (as you add next) more then to intend the sufficiency of express Scripture to matters of faith: for the susteine of faith is infallible and divine; Theological discourse only fallible and humane; now he says diametrically against your tenet, that all truths are not in themselves formally contain'd in holy Scripture, but of necessity following these that are contained in them, &c. but here's the difficulty, we say that every point we teach, is contain'd as in general principles at least in
Scri-

Scripture, and necessarily deduced from it, but you add^e they must be contained formally, for what seems a necessary consequence of Scripture to us, seems not so to you, and the like is of what seems necessary to you, seems neither necessary nor propable to us: so that neither of us can be convinced that our respective deductions are points of faith, and both you must confess yours are not, because you have not infallibly authority deducing them, and we do acknowledge that conclusions drawn from Scripture, abstracting from the Churches authority oblige us not to receive them, as matters of faith.

16. Pag. 216. *Gulielmus Parisiensis* sayes no more then say the former Authors, and *Bellar.* nothing at all to your purpose, draw if you can the sufficiency of sole Scripture held by you, from words which so clearly declare its insufficiency.

Pag. 217. Your whole discourse is a pure paragon: our question is not what is essential or necessary, *necessitate medii*, or *praecepti*, to be known and expressly believed by all, *per se*, and absolutely, but whether one believing all that is essential and necessary in that manner, and withal disbelieving any other point of faith whatsoever after it is *hic & nunc*, sufficiently propounded as such to any particular person, can either be saved or be a true real part of the visible Church of Christ. Now we answer negatively to this question, because such a disbelief excludes an implicate belief of that point so disbelieved, and consequently a belief of all that God hath revealed, and thereby all supernatural & saving faith. To illustrate the truth of this assertion, let us instance in a *Pelagian*, who believed all that which you account essential, that is, the common Articles necessary for all to salvation, the Creeds, the Scriptures, &c. And had sufficiently propounded to him the belief of Ori-

ginal sin as a point of Christian faith, which he refuses to believe, and accounts an error; the question will not be in this case, whether that *Pelagian* believe all these essentials (in the account) but whether that supposed, he be not excluded out of the Church, and dismembred from it, by that wilful disbelief of Original sin. This is our present case, controverted betwixt us; so that though it were admitted that you believe all that material object of faith, which you esteem essential and necessary for all to be expressly believed, yet because we accuse and judge you to disbelieve many points of as much concern as is that of Original sin, and as sufficiently propounded to you as such, as that was to the *Pelagians*; we have as much reason to judge you to be excluded out of the Catholique Church, and dismembred from it, as we have to judge them; either therefore you acknowledge the point disbelieved by you, and propounded as matter of faith by us to you, to be as sufficiently propounded, as was that of Original sin to the *Pelagians*, or you deny it; if you acknowledge it, you must acknowledge you are as much dismembred from the Church by your disbelief as they were: if you deny it, then we will put our selves upon the proof of it; so that till our proofs be heard and fully answer'd, you cannot secure your selves of being parts of the Catholique Church, no more then could the *Pelagians*.

17. If you affirm (as your principles lead you) that even the disbelief of Original sin, hinder'd not the *Pelagians* from remaining parts of the Catholique Church, you contradict St. *Augustine* and
In Catalogis St. *Epiphanius*, the Council of Nice,
Hæreticorum all antiquity, nay all modern authors,
 even your own, and I provoke you
 to produce so much as one Author, who affirms *Pelagians*
 to be parts of the Catholique Church. C H A P.

CHAP. II.

Mr. Baxters authorities.

NUM. 18. *Whether Mr. Baxters doctrine about sole scripture, agree with Tertullians in his prescriptions.* Num. 21. *Mr. Baxter would send all his adversaries packing, if he knew how; he supposes his Readers to be very simple* Num. 19. *Whether St. Augustine taught that common people were to read Scripture, in the place cited by Mr. Baxter, whereas St. Augustine taught there that all things belonging to Christian Faith and manners are expressed in Scripture, his two other Collections from St. Augustine examined.* Num. 22. *He knows not where his Church was* An. 1500. Num. 25. *He cites two texts of S. Augustine destructive to his own doctrine.* Num. 25. 26. *How much Optatus makes for Mr. Baxter.* Num. 26. 27. *What Optatus means by being within or in communion with the seven Churches of Asia.* Mr. Baxter cites two texts in Optatus which quite overthrow him. Num. 28. *Drivers of his Effugiums examined and confuted, concerning Tertullians prescriptions.* Num. 29. 30. *Many texts of Tertullian not Englished by Mr. Baxter. make directly against him.*

18. Hence falls to nothing all you alledge from Bell.
Costerus

Costerus, Gulielmus Parisiensis, Aquinas, Bannes, Es-
pensens, &c. p. 216. 217. 218. For they speak of
 such as with the belief of what they esteem univer-
 sally essential, and fundamental in themselves, not to be
 joyn'd with an actual disbelief, of any point though not
 so generally necessary to be expressly believed, by every
 one yet sufficiently propounded to them, *hic & nunc*, as
 a point of Christian faith. To what purpose cite you
Tertul p. 219. What is that rule which he speaks of. Is it
 sole Scripture without Church or tradition? prove that,
 or what hurts us in his other sentence, c. 8. Do we
 teach any thing against it, prove that? or why make you
 such observations upon *Tertullians* prescriptions p. 220.
 why prove you not your observations from *Tertul.* words?
 where, say's he, the rules of Essentials extracted from the
 whole Scriptures is the Churches ancient creed, that the
 compleat rule of all points of faith is the whole Scrip-
 ture, what mean you to cite that from *Tertullian* which
 destroys you? have you ever yet cleared your selves from
 denying some Essentials, I am sure *Tertullian* puts in the
 book cited by you the Eucharist, & Baptisme amongst the
 things which he would have to be principal points, taught
 by *St. Peter*, and to be believed by all Christians to
 whom they were sufficiently propounded, & are not our
 controversies about these? leave not you many books of
 Scripture out of the Canon, and use you not the large
 field of Scripture to puzzle the weak? how then can you
 turne your selves more from the lash of *Tertullian*, then
 the Hereticks against whom he writes? And you say
 this ancient Author, advised the ordinary Christians of
 his time instead of long puzzling disputes to hold them to
 the Churches prescription of the simple doctrine of the
 creed, do you not confound your own publick practise
 in perswading every ordinary Christian to read the
 Scriptures

Scriptures in his own language, to maintain their cause by some obscure mistaken passages out of them against the Churches prescriptions? nay and the simple doctrine of the Creed too, by perverting that article of believing the holy Catholick Church: instance if you can, the prescription of the Church in the year 1500, to justify your so many oppositions against the prescriptions of all particular visible Churches in that age: and be sure you fail not withall to tell me what Church prescribed in the same year, against the Church of *Rome*, in opposing those which you call supplemental traditions, held by her and all other visible Churches at that time,

19. Page 221. You cite St. *Augustine de doctrina Christiana* lib. 2. cap. 9. and note in an English parenthesis (he was not against the vulgar reading Scripture) which how it follows I know not, unless you would have him also not against the vulgars being vers'd both in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, which he here requires for the perfect understanding of Scriptures. Secondly you put an N. B. upon St. *Augustines* words minding your reader to note that he affirms all things which belong to Christian faith and manners are thereby set down in Scripture which N. B. might have been well omitted, where you place it, and a N. B. put upon his next following words, whereby it would have appeared, that this holy Doctor speaks not of all manner of points of Faith, but *de quibus libro superiore tractavimus* of such as he had treated in the foregoing book, and in that he treats only of the Trinity, of the Incarnation, of the Church, of the resurrection of the dead, which we acknowledge are openly set down in Scripture, so much heed take you to the words you cite; so pertinent is your collection drawn from these words about the sufficiency of Scripture, and so faire
are

are you in your citations, let an N. B. passe upon that pag. 223, 223. What conclude you from St. *Augustines* words, lib 3. cap. 6. *contraliti. Petiliani*? which of us ever thought it lawful to teach any thing, *praterquam*, besides that is against; (for so *weis* in greek signifies the law or gospel,) and as wise is your question collected thence, page 223. *viz., was not the Church then purely protestant in their religion?*

20. To the proof of the minor by your profession p. 223. I have told you already your particular profession in disbelieving many things contained in Scripture, evidences your general profession of taking Scripture for the sole rule of your faith to be false and nugatorie.

21. As to your discourse page 224. tells us first which are all the Essentials of Christianity in your account and then we shall see whether they are all expressly contained in Scripture, or no. The rest is course and unhandsome, better suiting with a country ballad, then, with a controverfie.

You add in good time the parenthesis (*if you know how*) to keep those Friars and Jesuits as much out, as to keep out the devil. I see they stay not in through any want of opposition in you, 'tis well you have not as much of the knowledge, as you have of the malice of him, to whom you compare them, (I beseech God to pardon you) for then they had been all sent packing long ere this, and tis not I see for want of ignorance in you, that you are not quit of them, if any such be within the Nation, yet if you drive them no more out, then you can drive out the devil, they have no great reason to fear you. You must think your Reader to be very silly, when you go about to perswade him, that the Popes supremacie, and transubstantiation were brought into the

the kingdome by Friars and Jesuits, of late, since you begun your new gospel.

22. Page 225. you answer the Catholicks question, where your Church was &c. very profoundly, what if you can neither tell where it all was, nor half, nor a considerable part, nor for all ages, nor by entire catalogues; can you not at least tell where existed any one, though a small part of it in the year 1500, immediately before your doctrine appeared in *Germany* shew that, and we press you no farther at this time. Pag. 226. 227. You change the terme *Protestant Church* into *Catholick Church*: the question was, where was the Protestant Church, and you shew where the Catholick Church was, call you this answering? nor can you suppose the Protestant to be part of the Catholick, for I have shewed that hitherto you have not proved it. pag. 227. You first say, your Church was in Europe c. 1. and 18. you say, you'l say nothing of Europe. (n. b.)

23. Page 227. 228. 229. 230. To what purpose have you taken so much paines in copying the Latin texts of *St. Augustine*: you were afraid I see to English them, lest the vulgar (whom you chiefly labour to please) should finde many flaws in them. Intend you therefore to prove no more by those authorities then the Churches being spread all the world over? which of us ever denyed, nay who amongst us have not constantly asserted, that? Intend you to shew, that whatsoever professors of Christianity are spread through the world are the Catholick Church? why then cite you words quite overthrowing that position out of *St. Augustine* pag. 230.

24. *Quicumque de ipso capite ab scripturis sanctis dissentiunt etiam si in omnibus locis inveniuntur in quibus ecclesia designata est non sunt in ecclesia*, whosoever dissent

dissent from the holy Scriptures concerning the head
 (our Saviour) though they be found in all places
 in which the Church is design'd, yet are they not
 in this Catholick Church, or intend you to evince that
 all those who profess the Essentials of Christianity (as
 you understand them,) though they separate from the ex-
 ternal communion of all visible Churches existent when
 they first begun, & communicate only amongst themselves
 in some particular countries are parts of the Church?
 why then cite you the words immediately following, *Et
 rursus quicunque de ipso capite scripturis sanctis consen-
 tint & unitati ecclesie non communicant,* (or as after) *ab
 ejus corpore quod est ecclesia ita dissentiunt, ut eorum
 communio non sit cum toto quacunque diffunditur, sed in
 aliqua parte separata inveniatur, manifestum est eos, non
 esse in ecclesia Catholica.* And againe whosoever consents
 with the holy Scripture, concerning the head (Christ) &
 communicate not with the unity of the Church (& as af-
 ter) but so dissent from his body which is the Church,
 that their communion be found in some separate part,
 it is manifest they are not in the Catholick Church.
 Now seeing St. *Augustine* intends by this argument to
 convince the *Donatists* not being parts of the Catholick
 Church, because they departed from the external com-
 munion of all particular Churches, existing immediately
 before, & in their time, & yet it is manifest that in your
 opinion they held all the essentials of Christian Faith;
 and thereby communicated with those Churches as they
 were Christians as much as you do, & you separate from
 external communion as much as they did, it is evi-
 dent that this very text, cited by your self against us, un-
 answerably confutes the substance of your whole book
 against me, overthrowes the foundation of your *key*, and
 suppresses that grand noveltie of Schismatics being
 parts

parts of the true Church. O you are a stout disputer, are you not?

25. Pag. 231. *Optatus* is cited to as little purpose as was St. *Augustine*, why distinguish you obedience and subjection from charity? is not it a preserving of charity in the Church to yield subjection to Superiours? is not that a part of Christian charity, being a performance of a command, touching the love to our neighbour? otherwise you must argue thus, *Optatus*, sayes the schismatiques, were *charitatis desertores, non subjectionis desertores*, desertors of charity, not desertors of subjection, *ergo* he makes no spiritual Superiours or Pastors at all essential parts of the Catholique Church, nor talks of unity caused by subjection to them; how like you this consequence? If you admit it, every old wife at *Kidderminster* might have tanted you and told you, there needs no subjection to you from me, more then to me from you, so long as I am in charity with you and all men, I have no need of subjection to any, and therefore as you acknowledge in your answer to *Johnson*, pag. 231. *Optatus* calls the schismatiques desertors of charity, not of subjection. O this is a well-com doctrine to the vulgar, and a precious seed of rebellion; for if no subjection, but a charity as amongst equals be required to the Essence of the Church; why should it be essential to a common-wealth. O how sweet will this sound in the ear of a Leveller? But why say you, he accounts not the Apostolick Roman See to be an essential part of the Catholique Church? sayes he not expressly in the words now cited by me, that unity is to be preserv'd through the whole Church, by means of the singular Seat, *unica sedes*, of St. *Peter at Rome*, and is not both unity, and that which is necessary to preserve it essential to the Church? sayes not *Optatus*
pre-

presently after those words, that this *unica sedes*, the one only See of *Rome*, is *Dos Ecclesia*, one of the Dowers or properties of the Church, and are not they essential?

26. Pag. 231. It is cleer *Optatus* means, by *extra septem Ecclesias*, out of the seven Churches, no more then out of their communion, as they were parts of the Catholique Church, as appears from the next words you cite, *dissentio & schisma tibi displicuit, concordasti cum fratri tuo, & cum una Ecclesia qua est in toto orbe terrarum, communicasti septem Ecclesias & memoriis Apostolorum, amplexus es unitatem*. Dissention and Schism hath displeased thee, thou hast agreed with my brother, and with one Church which is in the whole earth, thou hast communicated with the seven Churches, and the memories of the Apostles, thou hast embraced unity. Thus you save me the labour of salving your arguments by salving them your self.

27. But why cite you *Optatus* his words, *lib. 6. p. 93.* in your 232. page, I know not, if it be not to confute and confound your grand novelty, of *Schismaticks properly so called, being parts of Christs Church*; sayes he not after his description of the Catholique Church, *aquâ vos concisos esse*, from which you are cut off. Why have you not added this sentence? to leave your Reader doubtful, whether *Optatus* say these Schismaticks, were or were not cut off from the Church? nothing surer then that! but it's most certain *Optatus* was in the affirmative, as the full sentence declares, *Optat. lib. 6. It. a. Parm. p. 93.* which quite ruins that your novelty. Thus you save me again the labour of confuting your novelties, by confuting them your self. Are you not a strong Disputant? let the world judge that.

28. Pag. 232. you say first; *Tertullian* thought it a tiresome way to dispute with the Hereticks of and before his time out of Scripture; & that they were to be convinc'd by prescription; and what I pray think you of the matter? are you of *Tertullian's* mind? why then have you press'd so much the sufficiency of sole Scripture as the rule by which you intend to dispute against us; may not we reply against you, as *Tertullian* did against those, that it is a tiresome thing to dispute with Hereticks out of Scripture; and that you are to be convinc'd by prescription? But these Hereticks say you, err'd in fundamentals; tell us I pray precisely once for all, which are those? how shall we know otherwise whether they err'd in sole fundamentals or no? Please also to tell me where *Tertullian* restrains his rules of prescription to such only as erre in those which you would put in the number (if you were able to sum it up) of fundamentals? what fundamental point even in your account, deny'd the *Chilliafts* or *Millenaries*; the *Nicolaitans*; the *Sacramentaries* mention'd by St. *Ignatius*, as he is cited by *Theod.* Dial. 3. deny they any article deliver'd in the Creed, or propos'd to be expressly believed by Catechumens as necessarie to Baptism? But they, say you, lived neer the Churches that were planted by the Apostles, and how far lived your beginners from one of them, were they not so neer it, that everie one of them was of it before they began to novelize? That's not all, say you, but they were neer the Apostles daies, and were those Christians who liv'd neer the Apostles daies, to have another rule of faith and principles to confound Hereticks, then those of succeeding ages? *Tertullian's* rule of prescription is universal, and illimited either to time or place, is it not? if it be not, how came all insuing ages to make use of it against Hereticks, of their

presently after those words, that this *unica sedes*, the one only See of *Rome*, is *Das Ecclesia*, one of the Dowries or properties of the Church, and are not they essential?

26. Pag. 231. It is cleer *Optatus* means, by *extra septem Ecclesias*, out of the seven Churches, no more then out of their communion, as they were parts of the Catholique Church, as appears from the next words you cite, *dissentio & schisma tibi displicuit, concordasti cum fratri tuo, & cum una Ecclesia que est in toto orbe terrarum, communicasti septem Ecclesias & memoriis Apostolorum, amplexus es unitatem*. Dissention and Schism hath displeased thee, thou hast agreed with my brother, and with one Church which is in the whole earth, thou hast communicated with the seven Churches, and the memories of the Apostles, thou hast embraced unity. Thus you save me the labour of salving your arguments by salving them your self.

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respective ages? And were the Christians in *Brittany*, *Spain* and *Africa*, neerer to those Churches then, then they are now? what pererogons are these? Or are those of *Armenia* and *Gracia* farther from them now then they were in *Tertul.* time? Num. 1. pag. 232. *It was the common Creed then*, say you, and is it not now? nay, but you adde, no other doctrine save that; what mean you by *other*? contrary doctrine to the Creed? no more is it now; not express'd in the Creed? so were not many doctrines inculcated then by *Tertullian*, as the holy Eucharist and Penance; where read you these, express'd in the Creed? which Christian mysteries notwithstanding, *Tertullian* requires in his prescriptions. Num. 2. pag. 132. if he would have all Apostolical Churches to be assured witnesses, then sure *Rome* was not excluded, why exclude you't now. Num. 3. pag. 232, 233. if he would have the present Churches to the respective beginnings of Heretics, the immediate witnesses, (as you acknowledge here) why refus'd you the witness of all immediate Churches existent in the world in your beginnings? did they not all celebrate Mass, pray for the dead, fast Lent, desire the prayer of Saints, held merits of good works, Confession, Purgatorie, &c. Name those who did not hold some or all of these, in those times. Pag. 232. you cite Latin Texts without rendring them into English, there's something in't; what mean you when you say *Tertullian* understands not the Church of *Rome*, by *una Ecclesia*? no more then this, that it was not the Church of *Rome*, when it first begun in *Jerusalem*, who ever contradicted you in this? mean you that it was not made one visible Church by the same visible government first under our Saviour, whilst he remain'd on earth, then under *St. Peter*, both before and after he became

Bishop of *Rome*, which it had under his lawful Successors the Roman Bishops in all ensuing ages? that's indeed the question: and seeing *Tertullian* speaks here of one Church as propagated thorough the world successively from the Apostolical Churches, and that of *Rome* was one, and the chief amongst them, how can *Tertullian* speak of the Church, and not speak of the Church of *Rome* in this sentence? and seeing also he treats here of a Church as one visible, and there is no other means to render it so one, if it have not one supream visible ordinary Tribunal to w^hom all are subject (as *Optatus* had said above) and that can neither be the Bishops diffused thorough the whole Church, nor assembled in a general Council, (for that is an extraordinarie Tribunal, as I have proved,) there must be some one supream ordinarie Pastor over all other Bishops, which if it be not the Bishop of *Rome*, pray tell me in your next who it is. By this is satisfied your seven *notanda*, pag. 234. for though *Tertullian* instance in the Apostolical Churches of his time, whilst they agreed in faith with that of *Rome*, as patens of Christian faith, yet experience hath told us (and you cannot denie it) that all the rest by departing from the faith profest in *Rome*, fell by degrees into heresie, so that now you must either say there is no Apostolical not fallen into Heresie, or that the sole Roman remains pure from it, and a pattern of unitie and puritie of faith to all Christians even till, and at this day.

29. Pag. 235. you make *Tertullian* speak both false Latin and non-sence, by putting *tenentem* for *tenendum*. 'Tis not put amongst your errata's, your English parentheses, as you larded the Latin Text with them, three in number, look, methinks something odlie.

30. Pag. 235. what if *Tertullian* in that passage

send us not to the Roman Church, would you have him to write nothing in his whole works but dispatches to *Rome*? what if he call the holy Ghost only *Vicarius Christi* in that place, sayes he therefore that he only is his Vicar? cannot Christ have one invisible, and another visible Vicar? Why not? sayes *Tertullian* (as you here acknowledge) that it is the holy Ghosts office to procure that all the Churches lose not the Apostles doctrine, why then say you they have all lost it? you'll reply they have not all lost it in its essentials; names *Tertullian* essentials? he sayes the holy Ghost would never permit all Churches to leave the Apostles doctrine, now that which you account non-essential, was (as we now suppose) as much their doctrine, as was that which you account essential, besides (*ut supra*) what essentials were contradicted by the *Millenaries*, *Nicelaitans*, &c? yet they (in *Tertullians* account) left the Apostles doctrine, but you'll reply again, those onlie are said to leave the Apostles doctrine, who leave all their doctrine; not those who hold some points, though they leave others. Then no Heretick can be said to have left the Apostles doctrine: for never did any leave it all; then though the Church should deny some articles of the Creed, and hold others, it could not be said to have left the Apostles doctrine; you'll bring, I see, the Church at last to a fair pass. I am glad to see you so ingenuous, as to cite the words of *Tertullian*, *ecquid verisimili est*, &c. but should have been more satisfied, had you English'd them. He saies there, *that it is unlikely all Churches should agree in one and the same error, so that when many agree in one, it is no error, but tradition*; and then demands whether any one have the audaciousness to say, those err'd who deliver'd such a doctrine. How like you this? did not all the visible Churches in

in the world, deriveable from the Apostles, agree in the celebration of Mass, real Sacrifice, desiring the prayers of Saints in heaven, praying for the dead, fasting in Lent, &c. immediately before *Luther* begun to play the Novelist? name me any such Church who did not, *ergo non est erratum sed traditum*, therefore these are no errors, but traditions according to *Tertullians* doctrine here; you are an excellent confuter of your self.

31. Pag. 236. you cite *Tertullian* again, reckoning *Smirna* with many others before *Rome*. Answer: it was enough for illustrating *Tertullians* argument prest there, of reducing Churches to their first Originals to bring any instance whatsoever of any Apostolical Church, nor was he there to have regard to the order, but to the substance of his instances.

Pag. 236. you make *Tertullian* speak false Latin and non-sence again, by printing *institutum* for *institutum*, so careful are you in your citations fill they but up paper; and help to patch up a new volum, 'tis enough for you. Who can doubt but the Apostolical doctrine will prove an Apostolical Church, when ever planted; as you collect from this Text of *Tertullian*, but how come those succeeding Churches to agree with the precedent, but by means of a visible head, who hath preserved all in the unity of faith, which subject themselves to him; where did you ever find any Churches continue long in the same faith with the Apostolical Churches, after they had put themselves in opposition to the See of *Rome*? let such Churches be nam'd in your next.

CHAP. III.

More of Mr. Baxters Arguments.

Num. 32. Mr. Baxters *third Argument out of form.* Num. 33. *If the Roman Church were infected with the plague, &c. anno 1500. the whole visible Catholick Church was infected with it, which is a foul Blasphemy.* Num. 34. *Possession stands in force against Protestants.* Num. 36. *the Popes Supremacy in spirituals, essential to the Church.* Num. 37. *The true meaning of the 28. Canon of Chalcedon, and of the 2. Canon of the first Council of Constantinople.* Num. 39. *Whether the ancient Fathers were accustomed to press the Authority of the Roman See against Hæretiques.* Num. 40. *A loud untruth of Mr. Baxter.* Num. 41. *Extra-Imperial Churches subject to the Bishop of Rome.* Num. 44. *5. Reasons of Mr. Baxters against the Popes supremacy in spirituals answered.*

32. Pag. 238. Your third argument is out of form, having the term *as Christian* in the first part of the antecedent, and not in the sequel or second part, therefore I deny the antecedent, viz. *Though the Roman as Christian hath been alwayes visible, yet the Protestant hath not been alwayes visible.* It is fallacia à secundo quid, and simpliciter. For all that can be pretended to

fol-

follow, is no more then this, *that the Protestants have been visible as Christians, that is, so far as they profess the belief of the chief articles in Christian faith; nor yet follows so much, for I deny they believe any one of them as Christians ought to do, that is, with an infallible, supernatural, divine faith, so that they have not been alwayes a visible Church as Christian, though the Roman have been so. Hence falls the proof of your consequence.*

33. Pag. 239. I denie your supposition, that when Protestants first pretended to reform what displeas'd them in the doctrine of the Roman Church, that thereby they were cured of the plague, &c. for if the Roman Church were then infected with the plague, all the visible Churches in the world, and consequently the whole Catholique Church was infected with it, which is diametrically contrary to the Texts here cited by you out of *Tertullian*, and a horrible blasphemie, to affirm that the mystical body of Christ is infected with the plague, or any such like mischief. Here you trifle again, prove the Popes supremacie first to be an usurpation, and then take it for a ground of your argument: what millions abroad, and within the Roman Territories are those you talk of? is everie number which you fancie, a million? *Ibid.* you frame an objection of your own, and then answer it, what's the one or the other to me? That which I have objected to be proved by you, is no negative, but a plain affirmative, for 'tis this, *that you prove any Church now denying or opposing the Popes Supremacy to have been alwayes visible.* Pag. 240. you essay to answer the argument about possession. Your first answer is *petitio principii*, or *falsum suppositum*, that any parts of the Catholique Church, much less the most fit, can be nominated wherein the Popes Supremacy had not possession, *Non-proof,* Ff 4 34.

34. Your second of making good against our title of Supremacy, &c. is only affirm'd by you who are a party, but never yielded by us, nor legitimately judged, or defin'd against us: so that *sub judice lis est*, the matter is still in process, and you know *lite pendente*, till the cause be decreed or yielded up by one of the parties, the possessor is to enjoy his title, according to all law and reason; you therefore by actual dispossessing the Roman Bishops of that right and title whereof he was quietly possessor in the year 1500, in this our Nation, and in all other places where you entered, upon this pretence only that you think you have sufficiently disproved it from the divine law; is to do him as much wrong as if a plaintiff in a suite at law, should thrust the defendant out of quiet possession (without decree or order from any competent Judge) upon this sole pretence that he frames a judgement to himself, he has convinced by law the others title to be null, for in these cases both he and you, make your selves judges in your own cause, and proceed to an execution, without a warrant.

35. Page 240. To your question, what you must prove? I answer 'tis this, *that any Church which* has at any time, or does now deny the Popes supremacy or remain independent of it, has bin allwaies visible. *Ibid.* of such as know nothing of the Popes supremacy, I say nothing, it being not our case; then only they are bound to alledge proof for the denial of it, when it is or shall be sufficiently propounded to them.

36. Page 241. The Supremacie it self, I have proved to be essential to the Church, for there can be no visible body without a head. But then it is essential to the substance of Christian faith in particular persons, when it is sufficiently propounded to them as a point of faith. page

241. You propose your fourth argument in proof of the Catholick Church not acknowledging the Popes supremacy for some time.

Your first Sylogism is out of form. 1 for want of the word *ever*. it should be *ever* since, in your antecedent; 2 and in the sequel, for you say only that the Church whereof the Protestants are members, *hath been visible*; where as you should say *hath been ever*, or *alwayes visible* for that only is the present question. 3 You suppose the sole denyal of the Popes supremacy, constitutes the Church whereof the Protestants are members, which I deny, for all hereticks as well as Protestants, denyed his supremacy.

37. Page 232, 233. I have already answered to your 28 canon of *Chalcedon*, first it uses the word *immutabile*; that is *deferr'd* or attributed, not *gave* or *conferr'd a new*. 2 they pretend to give no more to *Constantinople*, then the second general Council had done (as appeares by the words) now that was to be next after *Rome*, so that the principallity, which *Rome* had before the Council of *Constantinople*, was no way infringed by that canon. 3 It is evident that the principallity of *Rome* before all other Patriarchal Churches, was not only in precedency of place, and order, but in power, jurisdiction, and authority over them, for *Damascus*, as *Photius*, witnesse ep. 125 confirm'd that Constantinopolitan Council which was an act of Supreme jurisdiction. 4 That addition to the second canon about *Constantinople* priviledges, must have been annexed to the canon by some sinister meanes after the Council was dissolved, for it is both dissonant from the former part of the canon, which decrees that the Canon of *Nice*, c. 6. be observed in exercise of
juris-

jurisdiction within their districts prescribed in that canon, and yet this addition infringes the very canon of *Nice*, where the Bishop of *Alexandria* was the first and of *Antioch* the second, both before *Constantinople*. Second, when *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria* with a Council celebrated by his authority pretended to exercise authority over St. *Chrysostome*, neither St. *Chrysostome* nor his adherents ever mentioned this addition to the second canon of *Constantinople*, which had it been held authentical in their time, they would doubtless have done, as being so powerful to defend their cause. Thirdly, when *Sicinius*, successor to *Atticus* at *Constantinople*, had ordain'd *Proclus* his competitor Bishop of *Sizicene* by virtue of a canon that none should be ordain'd Bishop without the consent of the *Constantinopolitan* Bishop, those of *Sizicene* rejected *Proclus* and affirm'd that canon to have been made only for *Atticus*: nor did *Sicinius* so much as mention this canon of the first Council of *Constantinople*, which he would have done, had he esteem'd it a genuine part of the canon in his time: now what

Socrat lib. 7. c.
28.

is said of equal privileges with *Rome* cannot be understood of all privileges which *Rome* had, for then *Constantinople* should not have been next after *Rome*, but equal with *Rome*, but it must be limited to some particular privileges, & then though it had been made equal in them, it might in others remain inferior, nay subject to it.

38. To what you most urge, that *Rome's* privileges were given to it by the Fathers, and consequently are not derived from our Saviours institutions besides that of the greek word now observed, I answer the Council of *Chalcedon*, could not mean that the Fathers gave as by a new gift, the privileges to *Rome* without a plain contradiction

tradition; for in the Council of *Chalcedon* the sixth canon of the *Nicene* Council is alledged thus, *Ecclesia Romana semper habuit primatum, the Roman Church had alwaies the primacy*, now if it had alwaies the primacie, how could the same Council say, it recieved its privileges, and consequently its primacy (as you collect here) from the Fathers in succeeding times? Either therefore you must say that (supposing as you do) this canon is a genuine canon of the Council, that the Council contradicts it self, or that they mean not these words, the Fathers gave as a new gift all the privileges to *Rome*; or you must say that this canon is false, & supposititious, fram'd surreptitiously, and rejected by *Sr. Leo*, destructive of the *Nicene* canon and ancient privileges of other Churches, and coin'd by *Anatolius* & his adherents perswasion out of pride & ambition, as it is most manifest it is, & so of no force, as *Leo* declares in his epistle to *Anatolius*. And *Anatolius* himself in part acknowledges in his answer to *Leo*. To what you say of the ground of these privileges, the imperialtie of the *Roman* city, I have told you that was not urged as the sole, but as a partial ground of those privileges as it is also in the letters of *Valentinian* cited above, but yet that only was mentioned here, because it made most for *Anatolius* his pretension.

39. Your second argument is page 244, 245, 246, 247. You ground your arguments in a patent fallhood, those Fathers, and others, as occasion served, prest mainly and largely this argument, so *Bellar. Baron. Perrone, Coccinus, Gualternus, Stapleton*, and others of this subject, and no smal number of them are cited by me in this answer. But you call all their citations, *scraps*, and it must be so, if you have once said it, your word is a proof at any time, but you should have don well to
have

have cited those *scraps*, that the world might have seen whether they be so or no ; are you a disputant when you have no other reason for your saying then *an I say so* ? but if you make so slight of those proofs, how will you prove from the Fathers either the baptism of Infants, or the necessity of Ministers or the precedency of the *Roman* Bishop, which you hold but by those which here you call *scraps out of these Fathers*.

40. Your next argument page 248. is an abominable untruth, set down by a fore-head of brass ; you might as well have out-brav'd the loyal subjects of his most excellent Majesty, in time of the rebellion, by telling them the tradition of the greater part of the Nation was against him, and his title, what man in his right wits would have had the confidence to utter so loud a falsehood, without any proof at all, if there be any perpetual tradition receiv'd as you affirm from generation to generation that the Papal vicar-ship or sovereignty is an innovation or usurpation, and that the Catholick Church hath bin many hundred years without it, as known and notorious, as that the *Turks* believe in *Mahomet* by common consent of histories ; and Travelers shew this tradition from the year 300 to the year 600 to have bin as notoriously known and credited, as it is that the *Turks* believe in *Mahomet*, which if you cannot do, all the world will see you are one of the most insufferable out-facers of truth and assertors of open falsehood, that ever yet set pen to paper ; and if you do it, I'll leave the papacy. But see you not what an obligation you have now brought upon your self by your confidence of proving what you have hitherto denyed, you had any obligation to prove, you seem not to understand what tradition from generation to generation is, nominate to me any one profession of Christians which held the Popes sovereignty

taligntly as it is proposed by the Church of *Rome* to be an usurpation, and I here oblige my self to shew the time since Christ, when that profession was not in the Christian world, as cleerly as you can shew, when the profession of the *Turks* in the belief of the *Mahomet's* doctrine, was not in those Nations wherein it is now when the profession it self was not, how could it have any tradition?

41. Page 249, 250, 251. Is first spent in five non-proofs, let them be prov'd in your next; concerning the *Indians, Persians, &c. Armenians, Parthians, and Abbassins*, wee have already spoken as occasion served which needs no repetition. Now if I can prove (as I have proved) that any one extra-imperial Church was subject to the Bishop of *Rome*, and you cannot shew some evident reason, why that was subject, rather then all the rest, I convince by that the subjection of all; now it is evident that both the Churches of *Spain* and *France, Brittain* and *Ireland*, of *France* and *Germany* even when divided from the *Roman* Empire, were as subject to the sea of *Rome* as were those which remain'd united to the Empire. And the ancient historians writing upon the Council of *Nice* affirm (as I have observed) that the Bishops of all the Churches in Europe *Africa*, and *Asia*, were call'd

*Theod. l. 1. c. 7. Mar. Valler ad-
vers. Arim. l. 1. Euseb. l. 3.
de vita Const. c. 7. Sozom.
l. 1. cap. 5.*

to it, and consequently from all the Countries excepted by you, save *India*, if you account that in *America*; now if they all were call'd to the Council of *Nice*, there must have bin some who had authoritie to call or summon them, that was not the Emperour, for he had no power, out of the Empire, *ergo*, it must have been some spiritual power over them, but none can be thought with

any

any probability to have that power save the Patriarks and those were all resident within the Empire; *ergo*, some spiritual Governour within the Empire had power out of the Empire; if so, then he who is now supposed to have precedency before all the rest, is the most likely to have had that power, or the others at least, who were under his power.

42. But to shew unanswerably the universal power of the Roman Bishop, as he is successor of St. *Peter*, over the whole Church; first, the most ancient Fathers of the 4. first ages deferr'd to St. *Peter* the care and power over the whole Church, even over the Apo-

stles themselves. Thus in the first

(a) *Epist. 1.*

age, St. *Clements* (a) styles St.

(b) *Epist. ad Rom.*

Peter the first or chief of the

Apostles. (b) St. *Ignarius*, that

the Roman Church preceded, or was the chief without any limitation to the Empire,

(c) *De divino no. post medium.*

(c) St. *Denis* calls St. *Peter* the supream and most ancient

summitie of the Divines.

43. In the second age (d) St. *Hippolitus* calls St.

Peter the rock of faith, the Do-

(d) *In orat. de consummatione mundi.*

ctor of the Church, and the

(e) *Hom. 5. in Exod.*

(e) *Origen*, that he is the Rock

& lib. 5. in *Johan.*

upon which the Church is built,

hom. 17. in *Lucam*

and the first of the Apostles, and

in ep. ad *Rom.*

that Christ had delivered unto

(f) *De veritate Ec-*

cles. ep. 55. ad *Corn.*

ing his sheep, (f) St. *Cyprian*

ep. 7. ad *Iannuar. ep.*

that St. *Peter* received the

52. ad *Antonianū.*

charge of feeding Christs sheep,

that the Church was built upon

hyn,

him, that the primacy was given to *Peter*, *ut una Christi Ecclesia, & Cathedra una constitueretur.* (g) *St. Eusebius* (g) *hom. de resurrectione. of Alexandria*, that the Church was built upon the faith of *Peter*.

(h) *Eusebius Cesariensis* intitles *St. Peter* the first Bishop of the Christians, and that the providence of God, (h) *In Chronicis, an. 44. lib. 2. histori.* had made *Peter* Prince of the Apostles. And to (i) shew even (i) *Lib. 2. hist. Eccle. c. 24.* in time of the Heathen Emperours, this supream Authority of the Roman Bishop was so notorious in the world, that it was known even to them; he relates that there being strife in *Antioch*, who of the Pretendents to that Bishoprick had right to possess the Bishops house, that it should be deliver'd to him whom the Christians of *Italy*, and the Roman Bishop decreed it was to be given.

The *Nicen Council* in the 39. Canon, according to the *Chaldaick* Edition sent into *Portugal, an. 1605.* the 11. of *November* from *Franciscus Rossi*, Bishop of *Angomala*, in the Mountains of *St. Thomas* (says thus.) *Ita ille cujus principatus Roma est Petro similis & auctoritate par, Patriarcharum omnium dominatum & Principatum obtinet. Huic sanctioni si quis repugnauerit & obistere ausus fuerit, totius Synodi decreto anathemati subicitur.* So he whose principality is at *Rome* like to *Peter* and equal to him in authority, hath the dominion and principality over all the Patriarchs, whosoever repugnes against this Decree, and shall dare to resist it, shall be excommunicated by the decree of the whole Council.

(k) *Ep. ad Marem.*

St. Athanasius calls *Marcus* Bishop of *Rome*, the Bishop of the *universal Church*, and after calls the Church of *Rome* the mother and head of all Churches, and promises obedience to it, and styles it the Apostle-ship, and in another E-

(l) *Ep. nomine Episc. Aegy. Thebaidis & Libia ad Filicm papam.*

pistle (l) affirms that their predecessors had ever receiv'd help from the Roman Sea, nay even ordinations, points of doctrine and redresses. That they had recourse to that sea, as to their mother, they confess they were committed to him, and a little after they profess they would not presume without acquainting the Bishop of *Rome* to conclude any thing, the Ecclesiastical Canons commanding that in causes of high concern (*Majoribus causis*) that is, causes *betwixt Bishops* about heresie or belonging to the whole Church, they should determine nothing without the Roman Bishop, and our Lord hath commanded the Bishops of *Rome*, who are placed in the very top of greatness to have the care of all Churches, and that the judgement of all Bishops is committed to the Bishop of *Rome*, and that it is decreed in the Council of *Nice*, that without the Roman Bishop neither Councils were to be celebrated, nor Bishops condemned, & that the Roman sea was established firm and moveable by Christ our Saviour.

St. Hilarius (m) calls (m) in *psal. 131.* *St. Peter*, the foundation of the Church, the dore-keeper of the Kingdome of heaven, and that judge in the judgement of the earth.

St.

St. *Epiphanius* (n) that St. *Peter* was the first of the Apostles establish'd by our Saviour, and the firm rock whereupon the Church of God is built, and that God (o) made choise of St. *Peter* to be the head of his Disciples.

(n) *In Anchorato inter initium & medium.* (o) *heresi. § 1. circa medium.*

St. *Ambrose* (p) that our Saviour left St. *Peter* as the vicar of his love. (q) St. *Ambrose*, desir'd in all things to accord with the Roman Church, and relates that (r) *Satyrus* his brother, demanded of a certain Bishop, to have a tryal of his Faith, whether that Bishop were of the same minde with the Catholick Bishops, that is to say with the Roman Church, St. *Optatus* (s) *Meleвитanus* writing against *Parmenian* the Donatist sayes thus, *Igitur negare non potes, scire te in urbe Roma Petro primo Cathedram Episcopalem esse collatam, in qua sederit omnium Apostolorum Caput Petrus. unde & Cephas appellatus est. In qua una Cathedra unitus ab omnibus servaretur, ne ceteri Apostoli singuli sibi quisque defenderent. Ut jam Schismaticus & peccator esset, qui contra singularem Cathedram alteram collocaret, Ergo Cathedra unica quæ est prima de d'icibus sedet prior Petrus cui successit Linus &c.* Therefore sayes *Optatus* thou canst not deny, that thou knowest in the City of Rome the Episcopal chaire was first given to Peter, wherein sate the head of all the Apostles, Peter, whence he is called Cephas. In which one chaire unity should be kept by all, least every one of the rest of the Apostles should defend another chair to himself. That now he should be a Schismatick

(p) *In luce 24. post medium* (q) *l. 3. de sacer. c. 1. (r) orat. de obit. Satyr. fratris post medium* (s) *l. 2. contr. Parmen. non longe ab initio.*

a sinner, who should erect another chaire against this that is single, or one only: therefore in this only chair which is one of the dowries of the Church, first sate Peter, to whom Linus succeeded &c. Thus sarr Optatus, and then he reckons up seven and thirtie Popes succeeding one another to Ciricius, who sate in his time, & then adds. *Cum quo nobis totus orbis, commercio forma-*
rum in una communione

Literarum suppleendum vi- *societate concordat,* with
detur. whom (Ciricius) the
 whole world accords with

us by the correspondence of formed Letters. This done he relates that this truth of unity in faith, and communion was then a thing so notoriously known throughout the whole Christian world, for a mark of a true Christian, that the Donatists themselves to have some pretence to it, even from their first beginning, sent one of their partie to be Bishop of the African Donatists in Rome, and still continued the succession of those Donatist Bishops there to the number of four; whose names he mentions: so ambitious were they of having at least a shadow of communicating with a Bishop at Rome, seeing they could never have it with the true Bishop of Rome, as Optatus notes here.

St. Chrysostome (†) styles St. Peter, Doctour or

(†) Orat. Encom. in Petrum & Paulum orat. 5. contr. Judeos hom. 83 in Math. hom. 87. in Ioan. hom 80. ad ps. Antioch.

Teacher of the Apostles, and, that he was the first of the Apostles, & brought under his subjection the whole world, and that Christ built his Church up-

on him. The top of the Apostolical Colledge, that he was President of the Church throughout the whole world.

St.

St. *Augustine*, (u) That all titles of Authority next after Christ, were in St. *Peter*, that he was the head to be Pastor of Christs flock, that our Saviour praying for St. *Peter* pray'd for all the Apostles (x) because what is done for a Superiour or Governour is done for all those who are under his charge; that he was the foundation of the Church by virtue of our Saviours words, upon this rock I will build my Church: he calls the Roman Sea, the Sea Apostolick absolutely, (y) (z) That the succession of the Roman Bishops is the rock, which the gates of Hell do not overcome.

I omit for brevity sake, many other holy Fathers of those ages, hoping these will be a sufficient testimony of St. *Peters* and the Roman Bishops authority, not within the Empire only, but through the whole Christian world.

44. To your fifth Argument, p. 251. I deny your Antecedent, you prove it by an outfacing confidence in five particulars; to the first and second, I answer; it is not necessary he should either have chosen or ordain'd them, nor authorize any other to the validitie of ordaining them, nor that they should receive their Episcopal power of ordaining from him, but their Patriarchal power was from him, as I have proved above, in that he both restored and deposed those Patriarchs as occasion requir'd. To your third, the lawes and canons of the Church they receiv'd, and those were confirm'd by his authority. To your fourth I have evidenced, they were commanded and judged by him. To your fifth I deny

the Patriarch of *Constantinople* to be equal with him in all things, nor can you prove it. No nor so much as essay to prove it, without contradicting your self, who grant him a precedency of place before the Bishop of *Constantinople*, which is one priviledge.

CHAP. IV.

St. Gregories doctrine about universal Bishop.

NUM. 45. *In what sence St. Gregory condemn'd the title of universal Bishop, how cleerly he attributes to St. Peter the Sovereign authority over the whole Church, by Christs authority, and consequently to his lawful Successors after his death, the Bishops of Rome. Num. 47 Whether the title of universal were offered St. Leo, by the Council of Chalcedon, why St. Gregory refus'd and condemn'd that title. Num. 52. Mr. Baxter contradicts St. Gregory and himself and brings all he hath objected in 8. or 10. pages, to nothing. Num. 53, 54, 55. how various he is in his accounts. Num. 57. into what difficulties Mr. Baxter casts himself.*

45. Pag. 253. You trifle about the title of universal Bishop or Patriarch; this *St. Gregory* took to be full of pride and insolency, and injurious to all Patriarchs and Bishops in the Church, because it was capable of this signification, that he was the *universal Bishop*

shop of the whole Church; so that there were no other true and effectual Bishops in the whole Church save himself, and the rest were not Christs, but his officers, nor receiving their power from Christ but from him; this he insinuates in the words you cite here, and after sayes, *Jam vos Episcopi non estis*, if once an universal Bishop were admitted in the Church, *then all the rest were no longer Bishops*; for this reason this holy Pope refused and condemn'd this title, but as for the thing it self which is in controversie betwixt us, that the Pope hath power and jurisdiction over the whole Church, we have above proved St. Gregory to be most positive in it, in several passages of his works. See St. Gregories Epistles throughout: nor was there every any Pope exercised more acts of jurisdiction through the whole Church, as occasion required, then he did. And in his Epistles themselves, even in those he writ in time of this controversie with John of Constantinople, he gives most evident proofs of it. Ep. lib. 1. ep. 24. he sayes thus. *Hinc namque est quod Petrus auctore Deo, principatum tenens a bene urgente Cornelio & sese ei humiliter prosternanti immoderatus venerari recusavit.* Hence it is that Peter holding the principality by Gods authority, or God being the author, refused to be immoderately venerated by good Cornelius, who prostrated himself unto him; where he attributes St. Peters principality to the institution of God, that is, of our Saviour, but then presently St. Gregory addes, that when St. Peter dealt with Ananias, *mox quanta potentia super ceteros excussit ostendit, summum se intra Ecclesiam contra peccata recoluit.* He corroborated himself as the highest within the Church against sin. N.B. he sayes, *summū intra Ecclesiam, non intra imperium*, the highest within the Church, not within the Empire. And ep. 32. ad Maur-

rit. *Cunctis ergo Evangelium scientibus liquet, quod voce dominica, sancto, & omnium Apostolorum Petro principi Apostolo totius Ecclesie, cura commissa est; cum & totius Ecclesie principatus ei committitur, & tamen universalis Episcopus non vocatur.* It is manifest to all who know the Gospel, that by the voice of our Lord, the care of the whole Church is committed to *Peter*, the care and principality of the whole Church is committed to him, and yet he is not call'd the universal Bishop. Nor can you say with reason, as you pretend, that the rest of the Apostles had the care of the whole Church committed to them by our Saviour, as *St. Peter* had. For he had it sayes *St. Gregory*, as being Prince of the Apostles themselves, and so had not only the care of the people, and inferiour Pastors and Prelates, but of the very Apostles committed to him, and in this exceeded all the other Apostles, as having the care of the whole Church, people, Pastors, Bishops, Apostles committed to him by our Saviour, which no other had the same, nor said he to any of them absolutely, *feed my Lambes, feed my Sheep*, that is, all my Lambes, all my Sheep, but to him. Thus *St. Paul*, when he saith, the care of all Churches lay upon him, he includes not the Apostles themselves, as never having challenged, nor ever having ascribed to him, by antiquity to be *princeps Apostolorum*, Prince of the Apostles, as *St. Peter* had. Beside, the word *plebs* *2 Cor. 11. 28.* signifies a soliditude, or anxious care, which he took for all the Churches, which might have been taken for them out of an excess of charity extended to all, though he had had no power or care committed to him by our Saviour (as *St. Peter* had over them.) See you not the care, not of the Churches within the Empire, (as you fancy) but of the whole Church, as now declared, not by humane right from

from Fathers, or Councils, as you imagin, but by the voice of Christ himself, was committed to St. *Peter*, and this was no secret in St. *Gregories* dayes, nor a thing known to many or most, but to all (sayes this holy Doctor) who knew the Gospel. And hence also appears the difference betwixt the title of universal, and the thing it self, controverted betwixt you and me, which you would have signified by that title of having care and power committed to one from Christ over the whole Church; this second (sayes St. *Gregory*) St. *Peter* had, but not the first: and this difference appears yet more evidently, for the holy Pope instances also in the high Priest in *Moses* Law, as you acknowledge page 265. who, as all men know, had not only precedency of place, but real power and authority over the whole Church of the Jews; and yet (sayes he) was not call'd universal. Now this being St. *Gregories* doctrine in relation to St. *Peter*, and our Saviour having subjected his Church under the care and providence of St. *Peter*, as supream visible Governour in his place, after his Ascension into Heaven, it will follow that our Saviour judg'd this government alwayes necessary for his Church: for the very same reason, which made it necessary in the Apostles time, evince it to be necessary in all succeeding ages: this government therefore was to be perpetuated in his Church, and seeing it was fix'd upon St. *Peter* by our Saviour, it must fall upon St. *Peters* lawful successors, after his death, and seeing none can claim that succession save the supream Bishop (for he of *Antioch* succeeded him in his life time, and therefore could not have that sovereign power derived to him, for St. *Peter* retained that as long as he lived, as all acknowledge) none save the Bishop of *Rome* can claim the care of the universal Church committed to

him by vertue of Christs institution ; *Ergo*, he, and he only is the ordinary supream visible Governour of the whole Church of Christ, in *St. Gregories* principles.

46. But *St. Gregory* is not only positive in the principle, but in the sequel also, in relation to *St. Peters* successor at *Rome*, for l. 4. ep. 36. *ad Enlog. Alexandrinum & Anastas. Antioch.* speaking of the *Constantinopolitane* Synod, which had given the title of universal to *John* of *Constantinople*, he sayes thus. *Idem decessor meus ex autoritate sancti Petri directis litteris cassavit.* That his Predecessor had annul'd that Council by the authority of *St. Peter* : behold the Roman Bishops used the authority of *St. Peter*, and by power of that invalidated a Council collected out of their Patriarchate, which shews that *St. Peters* authority descends down to his successors the Roman Bishops, and that having been extended over the universal Church, the successors also have the same extent of authority, in vertue of their first predecessor *St. Peter*. Now this phrase of exercising acts of government in the Church, was ordinarily exprest by doing them by the authority of *St. Peter*, as appears in a hundred passages of the ancients. This annulling the acts of that *Constantinopolitan* Synod is again asserted by *St. Gregory*, lib. 4. ep. 34. *ad Constant. Augustam.* where treating of *John*

of *Constantinople*, he sayes, *Ita ut sancta memoria decessoris mei tempore ascribi se in Synodo, tali hoc superbo vocabulo faceret, quamvis cuncta acta illius, Synodi sede contradicente Apostolica soluta sunt.* So that he, *John* of *Constantinople* procur'd himself to be honour'd with that proud

See the like Text cited above, lib. 7. ep. 65. lib. 2. ep. 37. lib. 7. ep. 64. lib. 1. ep. 72.

proud title in a Synod, although all the acts of that Synod be dissolved, the Apostolical See contradicting them. Nor shews St. Gregory the authority of his predecessor only, but his own also over the Bishops of Constantinople, for lib. 4. ep. ep. 38. *ad Joan. constant. Quicquid facere humiliter debui non omisi, sed si in mea correptione despiciar, restat ut Ecclesiam debeam adhibere*; whatsoever I ought to do in humility, I have not omitted, but if I be despis'd in my correction, it remains that I must use the Church; that is, as he treats immediately before; use the authority of the Church, in casting him out of it, as a Heathen and Publican; because he refused to hear the Church. And again, lib. 7. ep. ep. 70. *ad Episcop. Thessalon. & alios complures*. After he had strictly prohibited them to give any consent to the title of universal Bishop, he adds, *si quis neglexerit a beati Petri Apostolorum principis pace, se noverit segregatum*. If any one of you neglect this my command, let him know that he is segregated or divided from the peace of St. Peter; that is, from the communion of the Catholique Church. What follows for six leaves together, is nothing but a *farago* of equivocations, misconceits, contradictions, p. 154. after you your self had cited St. Greg. words, that this title was offer'd him *per Concilium Chalcedonense*, by the Council of Chalcedon, you say it was but a brag of his, and that it was offer'd only by two Deacons in the Council.

47. Thus you first cite authors against us, and then accuse them of vanities and falsity, when those very citations which you cite for your self, make against you; the question is not what is, or is not, now extant in the Council of Chalcedon, or wherein St. Gregory grounded his sayings, but whether St. Gregory affirms that this title was offer'd him in that Council as you confess;

(by

(by citing his words) he does: and is it fit for so mean a worm as you are, to make this most honourable and holy Pope, the Apostle of our Nation to be a *bragger*, when he relates what pass'd in general Councils? But now let us see a piece of your skill in History, first you say the title was writ by two. Now *Blundel* p. 452. acknowledges there was four, and *Barron. ad an. 451. num. 32.* sayes they were *varii clerici & alii Alexandrini*; then say you these two were *Deacons*. *Blundel* sayes no such matter, but that they were particular persons; and *Barronius* that they were, *clerici*, and others. Next you add they had no votes in the Council: what wonder's that, when they did not so much as sit in it? You say the names of those who compos'd those bills, *libellos*, against *Dioscorus*, were *Theodorus* and *Ischirion*, who as they were only those who offer'd them to the Council, in the names of their Authors, the bills being compos'd by others; as well as by them, after this you call those writings *libels*, on purpose to disgrace them, (as it may seem) for though they be called *libelli*, that is, little writings in Latin, yet the word *libels* in English is alwayes taken in a bad sence, and signifies a false, seditious, infamous pamphlet; but this you thought a fitter name for them because they had a superscription containing the title of universal Patriarch given to Pope *Leo*, never considering what a disgrace you put upon that holy Council, by making it a favourer and receiver of *libels*, but suppose *St. Greg.* had had no other ground of his so constant affirmation, that the title of universal Patriarch offer'd him by those Clerks of *Alexandria*, in the Council of *Chalcedon*, read publicly and no way disallowed by any one in the Council, when it concern'd them so much (*ut supra*;) yet this very thing convinces that he thought such a *tacite approbation*,

tion, was sufficient to affirm, it was offer'd him not only in the Council, but *per consilium*, by the Council of *Chalcedon*. Next page 254. You shew your skill in Grammar, and argue that if the thing were due, signified by the title of universal, the name was also due, never reflecting that one word may be taken in divers senses, whereof one may agree with one particular thing signified, and not the other. Thus *Tyrannus* signified a King in the ancient signification, but now a Tyrant only, thus Minister in Latin, signifies both a Minister and a servant &c. Nay you your self confess (and that is one of your contradictions) that the Council offered it not to him in that sense wherein it signifies an universal governour of the Church, but in an other, now because this word beside the moderate signification, in which the Council offer'd it, is capable of another most pernicious and ante-Christian sense, (as I have declared) *St. Gregory* thought it undue and unfit to be accepted, because he esteemed himself oblig'd to avoid all appearance of evil, and never accept of any title which was apt to breed publick scandal in the Church.

48. Your next work is pag. 255. to confound those two significations of this word, or the thing it self, for that which is to be debated betwixt us, is not what *St. Gregory* judged to be the thing signified, by this word, for that was most wicked, and unchristian, but the being the supream visible governour of Christs Militant Church, yet so that inferiour Bishops and Pastours, are true governours also, each of his portion, and immediate officers, and Vice-gerents of Christ, receiving their original power from him, and not from the Pope, which may also be signified by the word *universal*; Now you shift cunningly from this second, to the first, and thereby work a confusion in your whole discourse, and deceive your reader, you take it in the first bad signification

nification, or the unchristian thing signified by it (as St. *Greg.* understood it; pag. 254. & then say it is plain, that it is the thing as well as the name, that St. *Gregory* wrote against, but that is not the thing now debated betwixt us, but that which St. *Greg.* took to be signified by that word, which we disallow as much as he did, or you can do.

49. Page. 255. num. 2. You equivocate againe about the taking away Episcopacie, by that title; for we affirm not that St. *Gregory* thought or *John* of *Constantinople* either, to expel all Bishops directly & cruelly out of the Church, as you and your zealous brethren lately did out of the English Hierarchy. But that although they remain'd still in the possession of their former titles, and office of Bishops, yet in effect according to the malignancie of this proud title, St. *Gregory* thought the virtue and proper force of Episcopacie to be enervated, that is, that whosoever made himself universal Bishop, made himself Bishop of every particular Diocess, in the Church in *capite*, and thereby the rest who were possesst of those Diocesses held their titles as from him, as his vicars a moveable at pleasure, by him as it were his servants or officers. And though happily *John* of *Constantinople* penetrated not so deep into the malignancy of this title, Yet St. *Gregory* might suppose he did; or fear he would do, & therefore would not permit so dangerous a title in the Church, by force whereof one might lay a claim so obnoxious to, and destructive of Ecclesiastical Hierarchy and this is that which St. *Gregory* signifies, that *John* by force of that title would subjugate all Christs members to himself, that is, make them his officers and vicars, holding their Original powers from him, and not immediatly from Christ. Now to say as you adjoyn, that this is the very form of Popery, is nothing but either your calummie or want of true understanding

standing of our doctrine, wherewith you ought to have bin furnished, before you had taken to write so bitterly against us. We subject no Bishop according to his Episcopal power of ordination, or original power of jurisdiction in his Diocess to the Pope ; no more then are the Collonels or Captaines of an Army, who receive their Patents and Commissions immediately from the King, subject to the general in order to their respective commands, but are as truly Officers of the King, as the general is ; nor can the General displace any of them at his pleasure, as the King can do, though he has power to command them upon the Kings service, or to correct, punish or displace them, when they give sufficient cause; for that is also belonging to the Kings service ; Now you had not consideration enough, to see this difference, t'was not (some will say) for want of ignorance. Now if we take the word universal in the malignant signification, it will follow that if such an universal Bishop fall, the Church falls with him, because there will be no other true Pastour to maintain her in the truth, through the whole Church, the rest being not absolute pastours, but his Officers.

50. Page 257. Is spent in reciting *St. Gregories* execrations against the title of universal, which touch'd not our controversie.

51. Page. 258. Whether your reply, or *Bellar.* answer, be more miserable, I leave to the Reader, he speaks of a Vicar to sinful man, and you answer tis no indignity to a Bishop to be a Vicar of Christ the eternal God: next you equivocate again num. 2. the question is not what *John* thought, or pretended by that title, who can prove or disprove evidently what were his secret thoughts ? but what *St. Gregory* expresses himself to judge of his pretences, either what he did think

think, or probably speaking might be judged to think, by assuming that title. Now that *St. Gregory* thought such to be *Johns* pretensions by that title is out of question.

52. Page 258. 259. num. 3. You make Pope *Gregory* his exceed in censure of *Johns* pretensions in assuming that title, and thereby take away all force from those very citations, which you cite against us, so strong a disputant are you against your self: why should you think groundless discourses should be of any force against your adversarie? nay you are so favourable to *St. John*, and so froward to *St. Gregory*, that you make the one pretend no farther, then to a precedency of place, before all other Bishops, which he had before in relation to all, save only the Bishop of *Rome*, so that it was not in reallity a subjection of all the members of Christ to him, which he sought by that title, supposing that it included no more then a primacy of order, or precedency, but that he sought only by that title (having before precedency, before all the rest) to obtain precedencie before one more then he had, that is the Bishop of *Rome*. And for *St. Gregory* you make him an arrand lyer, for he sayes neither himself nor any of his predeceffours ever accepted of that proud title, and yet (if it were no more but a supremacy of place before all & not an universal government as you say here it was not) you your self acknowledge that he and all his predeceffours (at least since the Council of *Nice*) accepted of it: nay you will make *St. Gregory* speak absurdly and ridiculously in inveighing so earnestly against *John* of *Constantinople* as a forerunner of Anti-Christ, a prophane person, a destroyer of Episcopal dignitie &c. For having pretended no more then to take place of the Pope, whereas you say here, the Pope had then no rite to, nor posselli-

on in that precedency of place, but only striv'd for it : and why then might not *John* strive also, for't against him without blasphemy or Anti-Christianism ?

What say you of the Greeks refusing to have the universal government of the Church, I have above confuted, out of *Hieremias* against the *Lutherans*.

53. Page 259. The text you urge proves no more then the former, and shews the truth of my answer : the like is of page 260. That title as subjecting all Christs members, to one, as their universal Bishop, as though they had no other Bishop, nor true Pastour but him, is as manifestly against Christ, as if a General, should subject all the souldiers and Officers under him, as if he were their sole commander by immediate commission from the King, and the rest by commission from him would be against the King.

54. Page 261. The words you urge do manifestly illustrate my interpretation of St. *Gregory*, when he sayes, *Et solus omnibus praesse videretur* : for in our opinion it is not true that the Pope, *solus omnibus praest* is alone above all, for all Christians, have some other above them then the Pope, as he is supream governour of the Church. *videlicet*, their respective Bishops and Pastours, but in the sense St. *Gregory* speaks of, the universal Bishop only is above all, there being no others but such as have their authority from him, and govern as his Officers in his place, and by his authority.

55. Page 261. Your first reply to *Bellarmin*. is now answer'd, t'was but two Deacons, three leaves of, and now tis two or three, they'l increase in time like *Falstafs* blades in buckrome. The Fathers of the Council cal'd him not only head, or head-Bishop, as *London* is cal'd the head City, but they cal'd him *their* head : and themselves the members of that body; where-
of

of he was head, and said that he governed them as the head governs the members. *Tu sicut caput Membris praeras* (*ut supra*) To number the third p. 262. t'was first two, then on the other side of the leaf it increased to two or three Deacons, who offer'd St. *Leo* this title, and without the Councils approbation, and on this side, it is the whole Council, according to St. *Gregory* whose words you cite against us (and therefore must esteem them true) which consisted of thrice 200 Bishops, *Falsstafs* bounce buckerome was nothing to this increase. Next, you fall into a fallacie *ex insufficiente enumeratione partium*. It was neither in the sense [now explained] he thought it was offered by the Council, nor as he was *Episcopus prima sedis*, Bishop of the first sea, in your sense, *i.e.* The first in place, order, or precedency only, but as it signified the supream Bishop, who governed all other Bishops, though they were as true, and proper governours of their respective flocks, as he was of his, which immediate power and commission from our Saviour, as Colonels and Captaines are govern'd by their General. To num. 3. Nor have to this day any Roman Bishop incerted this name of *universal* into their titles, as the Bishops of *Constantinople* doe, But contrary wise, ever since this proud title was assumed by the Bishops of *Constantinople*, the Bishops of *Rome* have inserted this humble title into theirs, of *Servi servorum Dei*, Servant of the servants of God, as may be seen in St. *Gregories* Epistles, written after that time, to which is prefixed by him, that humble title, *Gregorius servus servorum Dei*. But if it signified no more then that the Roman Bishop is the first in place before all others, why might he not use it, seeing you acknowledge it to be his due, you can give me no other reason for this, then because the word *universal* is capable

big of a worse, signification, and therefore to be avoided, which is the very reason I give you, why *St. Gregory* both refused it and inveighed so much against it.

56. How the rest of the Apostles had the care of the whole Church, you oppose *Bellar.* p. 262. sect. 2. To your first answer I have now replied. To your n. 2. No man questions *St. Peters* being a member of Christs Church under Christ the head, but so is every Bishop a member of the Church, which hinders not their being true Governours, and visible heads of their respective Diocesses; so was the high Priest amongst the Jews, a member of the Church, next under God the absolute chief head, yet was withal indued with the power of governing visibly the whole Jewish Church as all grant.

57. Pag. 262. But see you not into what bryars you have cast your self, if you follow the ordinary Edition & read it as you do thus, *certe Petrus Apostolus primum membrum sancta & universalis Ecclesie est*, *Peter* the Apostle is the first member of the holy & universal Church. You establish *St. Peters* supremacy, for what is *primum membrum sancta & universalis Ecclesie*? is it in place only, then the Bishops of *Rome* as *St. Peters* successors have their precedency in place from him, and not conferr'd upon them by the Fathers, which destroys the main ground of your novelty; you cannot therefore say it is a naked precedency in place, it must therefore have been a primacy over the whole Church in government, as was that of the other Apostles in their singular jurisdictions, yet was he not to be stiled absolutely head of the whole Church, for the reasons above declar'd. But if you follow the lection of *Mr. James* (whom I credit as much as you do *Mr. Ross*) you will make a fair piece of non-sence of *St. Gregories*

Hh words,

words, for they constitute St. Peter no more then a common member of the Church, *membrum sanctæ & universalis Ecclesiæ est* ; which is true of every good Christian ; and yet constitute the other Apostles heads of particular Churches ; and thereby give a greater honour and power to them then to St. Peter, which you your self every where deny.

CHAP. V.

Saint Leo, and other holy Fathers.

NUM. 58. *What means Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Episcopus, given by St. Leo, and other Fathers to the Roman Bishop ; how Episcopus universalis Ecclesiæ, and universalis Episcopus, Bishop of the universal Church, and universal Bishop, are said by Bellar. to be of the same signification. Num. 60. How Mr. Baxter abuses both Bellar. and St. Gregory ; he makes St. Greg. speak false Latin and non-sence, by misciting his words ; he understands not St. Greg. Latin phrase. Num. 62. In what sense Catholiques affirm Christians to be opposers of the Pope. Bellar. misrepresented by Mr. Baxter. Num. 64. 66. He gives a false translation to Raynerius his words twice over, and misreports his meaning, by concealing the words following in Canus once. Num. 67. 68, 69, &c. He proves his antecedent, but not his conse-*

consequence which I deny. Num. 69. Whether the Papacy began in Phocas his time.

58. To your third numb. pag. 263. you are sore pinch'd to find an answer to the Popes being intituled *Episcopus universalis Ecclesie*, Bishop of the universal Church, could you think it would satisfie any rational man, to say that this title imported no more, then what may be, and ought to be given to every Bishop, who adhered to the common Communion, & was a Catholick, to wit, that he was a Bishop of the Catholick Church? can you be so ignorant as not to know this and the like titles were given him as signal declaratives of his place & honour, whereby he was both distinguish'd and preferr'd before all other Bishops and Patriarchs, neither of which could be done, had *Episcopus universalis Ecclesie*, signified no more then that he was a Bishop, that is, to be accounted amongst the Bishops of the universal Church; for this was common to him with all other Bishops thorough the whole Church. And I pray you tell me in good earnest, when any one should have intituled his letter to Pope Leo v. g. thus, *Leoni Episcopo universalis Ecclesie*, to Leo a Bishop of the Catholick Church; would it not have been profoundly ridiculous, for seeing there might have been some other Catholick Bishops call'd Leo, as well as the Bishop of Rome, who could know to whom this letter was written, by vertue of that title? but that it may appear evidently how incongruous this your *effugium* is: several Epistles of Pope Leo, intituled with his own hand will sufficiently manifest it, Saint Leo Epist. 97. intitles his Epist. thus, *Leo Roma & universalis Catholicaque Ecclesie Episcopus*: would you translate these words thus, *Leo a Bishop of Rome, and of the universal and Catholique Church.*

I pray you how many Bishops of *Rome* were there at that time beside *Leo*? Or sees not every one who sees any thing that they must be thus render'd into English, *Leo Bishop of Rome, and of the universal and Catholique Church*. Now this evinces that as he was in power and jurisdiction Bishop of *Rome*, so was he also Bishop of the universal and Catholique Church in power and jurisdiction, for otherwise the sentence will be incongruous and equivocal. In the like manner, ep. 13. he intitles himself, *Leo Catholica Romana Ecclesia Episcopus*, *Leo* the Bishop of the Catholique Roman Church. Now who sees not both that this must be in authority and government, and that the appellation of the Roman Catholique Church is of 12. hundred years standing, Ep. 42. he writes himself thus, *Leo Catholica Ecclesia Episcopus*, now had that imported no more then this, *Leo a Bishop of the Catholick Church*; who could have known who writ this Epistle? ep. 88. he gives himself this title, *Leo Romana Ecclesia & Apostolica sedis Episcopus*; *Leo Bishop of the Roman Church, and Apostolique Sea*. Now seeing he takes the Roman Church, for the same with the Catholique Church (as we have now seen) it imports thus much, *Leo Bishop of the Roman or Catholique Church, & of the Apostolical Sea*, for had he meant only the particular Roman Church, by *Romana Ecclesia*, he had committed a tautology, in adding presently, *& Apostolica sedis*, for that design'd the particular Church of *Rome*. Now seeing he was by power of government Bishop of the Apostolique Sea, either he must speak equivocally and absonouly, or signifie by those words that he was by power of government also Bishop of the Roman Catholique Church, ep. 54. thus, *Leo Episcopus Romana & universalis Ecclesia*, *Leo Bishop of the Roman and universal Church*,
Ep,

ep. 62. *Leo Catholica Ecclesia Episcopus*, *Leo* Bishop of the *Catholique Church*; by all this appears the truth of *Bellarmines* illation from this title, against your novel and jejune gloss upon the title of *universalis Ecclesia Episcopus*, for in effect it comprehends all the authority which we ascribe to the Roman Bishop over the Church, and as much, nay much more then you would have signified by the title of universal Bishop, conformable to this title in its genuine signification, are others of the like nature given to the Popes, by the ancient Fathers. Thus writes St. *Ambrose* ep. 81. *Ad Cyricium Papam*, *Recognovimus literis sanctitatis tue, boni pastoris excubias, quam fideliter tibi commissam januam serves, & pia solitudine Christi ovile custodias*; we discover by your Holiness letters, the watchfulness of a good Pastor, how faithfully you keep the door committed to you, and with how holy a care you preserve the fold of Christ. And again, in 1. *ad Tim.* 3. *Domus Dei est Ecclesia, cujus hodie Rector est Damasus*, the house of God is the Church, the Governor whereof is *Damasus*; who was then the Bishop of Rome. The Council of *Chalcedon* (as we have already seen.) ep. *ad Leonem*, sayes thus, *in super contra ipsum cui vinea custodia, a Salvatore commissa est, id est, contra tuam Apostolicam sanctitatem extendit insaniam*, Moreover (*Dioscorus*) extends his madness against him to whom the care of the Vineyard was committed by our Saviour, that is, against this Apostolical sanctity. *An. Ed. Binnii* p. 141. The Popes Legates in the Council of *Chalcedon* intitule *Leo*, *Caput universalis Ecclesia*, head of the universal Church. Now to imbroyle the controversy and cast a slurre upon *Bellar.* you put St. *Greg.* at odds with him, and then ask which of those two is the wiser? whereas *Bell.* promises first a distinction of

two different significations of *universalis Episcopus*, universal Bishops. In the one he accords with *St Gregory*, that the said title is prophane, sacrilegious, and Anti-christian, and proves that *St. Greg.* took the words in that sence, when he inveighed so highly against them, and never asserts that *Episcopus universalis*, taken in that prophane sence, and *Episcopus universalis Ecclesia*, are of the same force. Then he accommodates (as you your self do) though another way another signification to those words, universal Bishop, wherein they were taken in the bills directed to *St. Leo*, in the Council of *Chalcedon*, for neither would the Council have permitted, nor those Catholiques and Clericks have ascribed a prophane, sacrilegious and Anti-christian title to *Pope Leo*: and it appears that as they took the word *universal*, it had no more of the prophane, &c. in it as applyed to *St. Leo*, then it had as apply'd to the Council of *Chalcedon*, for to both of them they attribute *universal*, as therefore the Council was truly *universal* in a most Catholique sence, without any prejudice to other Bishops, or the Hierarchy of the Church: in the like sence did they understand *Pope Leo* to be *universal Archbishop*, his universal jurisdiction, suiting as well with the compleat authority of all other Bishops, as did that of the Council; for though the Council was truly universal in jurisdiction over the whole Church, (as I have proved) yet that notwithstanding, the *Pattholick Bishops* became no substitutes, Vicars or Officers to those of the Council, but still remain'd absolute Officers of Christ, and true Pastours, Bishops, & Governors in place of Christ, in their respective districts, &c. In like manner the Popes being universal, in jurisdiction, took not away any part of the full power and authority of other Bishops, but consisted together with it,

as did the universal jurisdiction, of the Council; Now in this second and Catholick sense only *Bellar.* affirms that *universal Bishop*, and *Bishop of universal Church*, are the same in sense wherein there is no debate between him and *St. Gregory*. Thus you cunningly delude your Readers, by casting such confused mists as these before their eyes.

59. By this the weakness of what you say next, p. 264. is clearly discover'd, where you vent rather your passion, then speak reason against *Bellar.* for who can doubt but *St. Gregory* had ground enough to execrate as he did that title, when it was so obnoxious in it self to prophaneſs, &c. And pretended by a person of so ambitious a spirit, as was that *John of Constantinople*; that he was in danger to make the worse use of it, for his own advantage. Thus though *Chrysostomos* be capable of a true and Catholick sense, yet because it is also capable and obnoxious (since *Nestorius* his heresie) to be taken in an heretical signification, the Church forbade it as sacrilegious and prophane, and much more as it was then used by *Nestorius*.

60. In your answer to *Bellar.* second reason; p. 264. you abuse both him and *St. Gregory*. *Bell.* says the title of universal was not due to *John of Constantinople*, in neither of the two senses now delivered which you conceal and therefore was absolutely prophane and sacrilegious, as applied to him in any sense whatsoever; and yet even *St. Gregory* himself refus'd it, as prophane, &c. Though in some sense it might be due to him to beat down the pride of *John*; you abuse *St. Gregory* in saying p. 265. *That he approv'd that title for himself*, or that *Bell.* affirms, *he approved of it as for himself*, neither of them say any such matter: prove they do. Know you not that, *Malum ex quocunque defectu*;

that every defect makes a thing evil, seeing therefore there was a defect of a prophane signification, and scandal in the title of *universal*, for that defect he accounted it evil, and absolutely disallowed of it, nor could the capacity of that word, to be taken in a more moderate sense, prevail with him to approve of it, *quia malum ex quocunque defectu*, the other defect had corrupted it, nor sayes *Bellarmino* that he approved it even for himself, but that *in some sense it agreed with him*, yet the danger of scandal in accepting a title, so subject to bear a prophane sense, deterr'd him from approving of it even for himself, as knowing the curse which lyes upon those which give scandal to their weak brethren, and that Christians are to avoy'd all appearance of evil.

61. In your last clause of this paragraph, you fall again into your old fallacie, proceeding *a notione secunda, ad primam*, from the titles which hath two significations, to the thing controverted, which corresponds but to one of those significations I have proved though *St. Greg.* disallowed of that scandalous title, yet both he and his predecessors, allwaies admitted of an universal Sovereignty as it was explicated above: most untrue, therefore is your illation, that *it sprung up since St. Greg.* dayes your next citation out of *St. Gregory* confirms what I have now said: he thought the title of universal, by reason of the scandal comprized in it, absolutely to be refus'd by all good Prelats. And so does the rest that followes out of *St. Gregory*, page 266. only in these words, *sed quoad in me correptione despicio, restat ut ecclesiam debeam adhibere*. I note these particulars, 1. you miscite *St. Gregories* words, and thereby make them both non-sense, and bald Latin, it should not be (as you have it) *sed quoad* but *sed quia*, thus I find it in two different editions of *St. Gregory*, the one anno.

1564. *Basilia*, and the other 1572. *Antwerpia*, both which have it *quia*, nor ever found I it printed or cited otherwise, till I read in your book : now, what sense is this, *but until I am despis'd in my correction, it remains that I use the Church*, that is, I must lay the Churches censures upon you, before you offend I must take them of, and who ever joyn'd a present tense of the Indicative mood with a *quoad*, before you, for that is as much as to say *until I am now despised* ; which makes the time present and future all one, and that, I think, is Non-sense : what think you of it ? 2. you prove St. *Gregory* held the Churches authoritie to be greater then his own, by these words now treated. Now whatsoever St. *Gregory* held in this, is not of any concern now, but most certain it is, he neither did nor could prove it by these words ; for this phrase, *Ecclesiam debeam adhibere*, I must use the Church, signifies no more then this, I must proceed according to the rigor of the Church : canons and discipline in inflicting upon you the censures of the Church, that is, I must proceed no longer as a friend to intreat, exhort, and admonish you, as hitherto I have done, but as the chief Pastor of the Church, use the fulness of that authoritie which I have in the name and for the good of the Church, in casting you out of it, by the severity of excommunication : that this only is his meaning, is evident both by the precedent words, where he declares our Saviours doctrine about excommunication of obstinate offenders, and by the words immediately subsequent, where he affirms he must not prefer his person, though never so dear to him, before the institution of the Canons, &c. Now when will you ever prove the consequence, *viz.* St. *Gregory* threatned the use of censures of the Church against

gainst *John* of *Constantinople*, Ergo, he took the Churches authority to be greater then his own.

62. Now you come in good time, to prove your seventh argument. page 257. Which you draw from the confession of Papists. I distinguish your antecedent, if you mean Papists confess, that multitudes or the most part of Christians not univocally so call'd, have bin opposers, or no subjects of the Pope, I grant it *if univocally, so call'd*, I deny it; *therefore by those testimonies there have bin visible Churches of such*, I deny your consequence. To your first authority, from *Eneas Silvius* I answer, he cannot mean, that so smal regard was had to the Church of *Rome*, before the Council of *Nice*, that it was not believed to be the head of all other Churches &c. (as I have prov'd it was) unless you make him accuse the Council of *Nice*, of Innovation, and of introducing a new government into the Church of God, which notwithstanding they supposed to have been ever before their time, for the Council of *Chalcedon* cites the Sixth *Nicene* Canons, as affirming that the Church of *Rome* had alwayes the Primacy,

your answer to *Bellar.* is
Se Con. Chal. Can. 28. fallacious proceeding a
parte, ad totum, Bell. you

acknowledge sayes he, it is partly true, and partly false, & you subsume, *but if true*, which supposes *Bellarmino* to affirm that its *wholly true*, whereas you should have subsumed. *but if partly true*, as you alledge *Bellar.* to have said it was, and then you fall again into the same fallacy if *it be false* (say you) that is if the whole be false: whereas you should have said, if it be *partly false*, as *Bellar.* said it was. And had you thus proceeded candidly, and logically in your subsumption your sequel against our Historians authority had been Evacuated, for
 very

very many good Authors may speak some things, which in part are true, and in part false; that is in some respect true, and in others false, they understanding what they writ in that respect wherein they are true.

63. Page 268. You mention first the Greeks in opposition to the Pope, recorded by our Historians, what then? *Ergo* by their testimony there have been visible Churches of such, that is of true univocal Christians, who opposed the Pope that's the thing to be proved; but to prove that, you must prove those historians to have held those schismatical Greeks to have bin univocal Christians which is necessary to compose a visible Church, this you have not done, then you cite *Goleftaldus* (but where the Lords knows) making mention of such as were under the Popes patriarchal power, and yet oppos'd him? but if that *Goleftaldus* were truly ours, prove also that he held them: whilst they stood thus in opposition against the Pope, to be univocal Christians, that's your main work, and yet you do it not; but see you not how you first take such as you must acknowledge to be subjects to the Pope in spirituals resisting their true superiour, as being under his Patriarchal power, to be patrons of your cause, another seed of Rebellion; and then you acknowledge Emperours and Kings to be under the Popes patriarchal power, for many opposers of the Pope were such, I speak of an opposition in faith, and communion, not in civil oppositions, which may happen upon just occasions.

64. Page 268. Next I wonder to see you so abominably false in your translations; you your self page 251. cite *Raynerius* his words, *non subsunt*, which in my grammar signifies *are not under*, and yet you translate them here, *were not under* the Roman Church: is it not true now to say *Constantinople* and *Alexandria*,

dris, non subsunt, are not under the Roman Emperour, must it therefore be true they were not under it.

65 *Ibid.* *Canus* speaks of different times, not that altogether, but interruptedly some at on time time, some at another, strove to oppose the Pope : but accounts *Canus* such opposers *in sensu conjuncto*, so were univocal christians, thats the point, and you never so much as think of proving it, might not you as well argue that so many Provinces, Nations, and Kingdomes, belonging to the Roman Emperours, have opposed the authority of the Roman Emperours. *Ergo*, they had no lawful authority over them, or to look homeward, so many Nations, Provinces, Cities, Ministers, and Commons, have oppos'd the authority of our royal Sovereign, *Ergo*, neither had he any lawful power over them, nor ceased they to be univocal parts of the Kingdom, notwithstanding that opposition, here's another root of rebellion.

Page 268. But you relapse again into your accustomed falsitie in translation, which would have appeared, had you printed *Canus* his Latin words (thus you make Authors speak in what language you please, English or Latin, as it best serves your turne and covers your falsitie,) *Canus* sayesthere, *ab aliis plerisque totius orbis Episcopis*, which you translate thus, *but almost all the rest of the Bishops of the whole world* : so that *alii plerique*, very many others, is with you, *almost all the rest*, had you only said a great sort, or the most part, even that had bin to stretch the word, *plerique* to its full length ; but to translate it *almost all* is too too bad, and cries shame of the translator, for, by this meanes you would perswade your Reader, that scarce any Bishop at all adher'd to the Bishop of Rome, according to this Author, whereas he in the beginning of this
seventh

seventh Chapter saith that not only the Bishops, but *Ecclesia* the Church from the time of the Apostles, alwayes acknowledg'd that the Roman Bishops succeeded place, Faith and authority of *St Peter*; and that all Catholicks respected his judgement, in the controversies of Religion; and this is most cleer and evident, but yet this is not all your *foul play*. You had undertook to prove, Papists affirm that univocal Christians composing visible Churches, have bin opposers of the Pope, And here you seem'd to have cull'd out a text for your purpose, for *Cannus* acknowledges in this place, that a very great number of Bishops, and the greater number of Churches, were against the Pope, and who could he suppose these to be but true Catholick Bishops and Churches? here you think, you have your Reader sure, but why cited you not these words, the next following? O that would have marr'd your market. *Cannus* is so farr from holding these mutineering Bishops and Churches to be true univocal Christians, that he affirms expresly they were either Schismaticks or Hereticks. *Quinimo qui à Romanâ quidem sede defecerunt, hi Schismatici semper ab ecclesia sunt habiti; qui vero hujus sedis de fide judicia detrectarunt, heretici.* But those (sayes) *Cannus* who made a defection from the Roman Sea, were alwaies accounted Schismaticks by the Church, and those who refused to stand to the judgement of this Sea in matters of faith were esteemed Hereticks, these are fair characters of your great sincerity: If you should reply, though *Cannus* account them not univocal Christians, nor true Churches, who made those oppositions, yet them not to be no true Churches, nor no univocal Christians. I reply, it makes thus much at least, that *Cannus* his testimony, proves not that any true Catholick Christians, or Churches, withstood the Pope,
for

for the proof whereof you cited this his testimony.

66. *Ibid*, You have a third bout with *Raynerius*, I answer, whatsoever he may hold of the antiquity of the *Waldenses*, is nothing to me now; holds he them to be univocal Christians? prove that, thus in all the testimonies you have alleadged, for the proof of your antecedent, against my distinction, you have not so much as one that assayes to prove it.

Your eight Argument page 269. Is a pure non-proof, that which you undertake to prove as appears by your question premised in the beginning of this second part, page 197. Is to prove *the Church whereof Protestants are members, hath been visible ever since the dayes of Christ on earth*, and your title upon every page pretends to shew *the successive visibility of the Church of which the Protestants are members*. Now (as if you had quite forgot what you were about) you pretend in this your Argument to shew, *that anciently the Papal sovereignty was not part of the Churches faith, nor own'd by the Ancients*, when therefore you shall have logically deduced this consequence, *the Papal sovereignty hath not been alwayes visible*, Ergo, *the Church whereof Protestants are members hath bin alwayes visible*, I will esteem my self obliged to answer the proofs from your testimonies, till then I purely omit your antecedent, and deny the consequence which you ought to draw from it, thence follows not that the Church whereof you Protestants are members hath bin alwaies visible, though your antecedent were true, the truth whereof I neither grant, nor deny for the present, but omit it, as not being now to our purpose.

67. Page 271. Your ninth argument halts of the same leg, it follows, not, that though our Church as papal had no successive visibilitie, that the Church where-
of

of the Protestants are members had ever since Christs time on earth a successive visibility, when you have proved this consequence, which you do not so much as mention in your argument: I oblige my self to answer every one of your instances, till that be done, all I am obliged to do by force of logical forme, is to omit your antecedent as nothing to our purpose, for you undertake not in this second part to disprove ours, but to prove your own perpetual visibility, and I deny again your consequence, which you ought to draw logically from your antecedent, to wit, that it follows not from this argument that the Church whereof the Protestants are members, hath bin visible ever since the dayes of Christ on earth.

68. Your 10. argument is sick of the same disease, is propounded p. 275. this reaches no further then to prove, that there hath bin a succession of visible professors of Christianity that were no Papists. *Transcat pro prasente*, I let that pass for the present neither granting it, nor denying it, nor meddling at all with it, because I judge it of no present concern to our purpose, but whatsoever is of that, I deny it follows thence (what you are to prove) that *the Church whereof the Protestants are members, hath bin visible ever since the daies of Christ upon earth*. Moreover by this manner of illogical proceeding, you change the part of the respondent, which only was yours into the part of an opponent, you were to shew some other Church beside the Roman to have bin perpetually visible, and this you undertake in this second part, by proving the Protestants to be so, Now you turne the scales, and labour by 10. arguments, to prove the Roman Church as Roman is not so. You promis'd in the beginning a fair logical answer, keep your word and turne not opponent, whil't
you

for the proof whereof you cited this his testimony.

66. *Ibid*, You have a third bout with *Raynerius*, I answer, whatsoever he may hold of the antiquity of the *Waldenses*, is nothing to me now; holds he them to be univocal Christians? prove that, thus in all the testimonies you have alleadged, for the proof of your antecedent, against my distinction, you have not so much as one that assayes to prove it.

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67. Page 271. Your ninth argument halts of the same leg, it follows, not, that though our Church as papal had no successive visibilitie, that the Church where-
of

of the Protestants are members had ever since Christs time on earth a successive visibility, when you have proved this consequence, which you do not so much as mention in your argument: I oblige my self to answer every one of your instances, till that be done, all I am obliged to do by force of logical forme, is to omit your antecedent as nothing to our purpose, for you undertake not in this second part to disprove ours, but to prove your own perpetual visibility, and I deny again your consequence, which you ought to draw logically from your antecedent, to wit, that it follows not from this argument that the Church whereof the Protestants are members, hath bin visible ever since the dayes of Christ on earth.

68. Your 10. argument is sick of the same disease, is propounded p. 275. this reaches no further then to prove, that there hath bin a succession of visible professors of Christianity that were no Papists. *Transcat pro prasente*, I let that pass for the present neither granting it, nor denying it, nor meddling at all with it, because I judge it of no present concern to our purpose, but whatsoever is of that, I deny it follows thence (what you are to prove) that *the Church whereof the Protestants are members, hath bin visible ever since the daies of Christ upon earth*. Moreover by this manner of illogical proceeding, you change the part of the respondent, which only was yours into the part of an opponent, you were to shew some other Church beside the Roman to have bin perpetually visible, and this you undertake in this second part, by proving the Protestants to be so, Now you turne the scales, and labour by 10. arguments, to prove the Roman Church as Roman is not so. You promis'd in the beginning a fair logical answer, keep your word and turne not opponent, whi'tt
you

you are to be respondent, stick to something, otherwise you confound all, and render it impossible to draw any controversie to a period; or open a passage to truth: acquit your self of your present obligation, prove your said consequence: that accomplished, when your instances come into logical course, I here oblige my self again to answer every one of them: but first let us dispatch this; shew your consequence undertaken here, of the perpetual visibility of the Protestant Church to follow from the want of perpetual visibilitie in the Roman, no more then your perpetual visibility, follows from the want of it, in the Greek, or Abissine Church, what if neither of them have bin perpetually visible? For there is no Heretick in the world, no neither *Arrian* or *Sabellian* &c. (whom you hold no Christians) which may not argue in the same manner against us, as you do p. 242. were they to prove the succession of their Church as you do of yours; what would you have us answer but deny the consequence, for it will never follow, because we have not bin, that *Arrians* have bin perpetually visible. Nay should he argue thus against you; Protestants have not bin perpetually visible, *Ergo*, *Arrians* have bin, might you not omitting his antecedent, deny his consequence, judge therefore by your own cause, and prove your consequence, nay should we argue thus against you Protestants *quasi tales* have not bin perpetually visible, *Ergo*, the Church whereof Papists are members hath bin perpetually visible, might you deny our consequence? the reason why this consequence is denied by all true Christians is this, because ours not being perpetually visible, confers nothing to your being perpetually visible, no more then *Cayphas* his not being a good Priest, made *Annas* to be a good one.

And as little followes it, that *though multitudes of Christians*

Christians, (as you have it in your 10 argument pag^e 275. & the like you have page 249. argument the fourth and page 251. argu. 5. &c.) Had bin ignorant of Poperie, not of Christianity, and a succession of visible professors of Christianity that were no Papists, that therefore the Church whereof Protestants are members hath bin alwayes visible, unless you first prove, that all who are profess'd Christians, but no Papists, are of that Church whereof Protestants are members, which I have shewed to be false. Suppose therefore (*ex suppositione impossibili*) that the Roman Church had not bin alwayes visible, thence will not follow that the Church whereof Protestants are members, has bin alwayes visible, this only will follow, that neither it, nor Protestants is the true Church. I press you therefore once more to prove your consequence, and till that be prov'd I am free from all obligation of answering to the proof of your antecedent, for no man according to logical form is oblig'd to answer the proofs of any proposition, which is neither denied, nor distinguished by the respondent, but purely omitted.

69. I will only *ex abundanti* clear one difficultie, which touches something of the main point about the Origin of the Popes supremacy, and is in every pedants mouth, who can chatter against us; this you have rais'd as a fierce batterie against the walls of Rome, and have placed eight pieces of canon upon it. *Regino contractus, Marianus, Sigibertus, Rumbaldus, Pomponius, &c.* And these make a fearful thundering about our ears, but sure you did it rather to fright us then to hurt us, otherwise you would have taken care to charge them with something else then powder, see you not how they vanish away all into smook? have you indeed produced a *Caput fieret*, should be made head of all Churches, you had made some breach, but to bring no more

then *ut Caput esset caput esse*, *Phocas* constituted the Roman Church should be head, or to be head of all Churches is an emptie puffe, and no more. Did not a late Parliament immediately before his Sacred Majesties return, vote and constitute Charles the second to be King of *England*, &c. or that he ought to be King of *England*, &c. dare you therefore say that he had no other right precedent to be our Sovereign before the Vote and constitution of that Parliament; know you not when titles and rights are controverted, as it was in *Phocas* his time, the Sovereign tribunal decrees to whom the right or title belongs, not by conferring it upon them as a free gift, but by declaring it to be their right and giving them what they judge to be their due, now that this was so in the case of *Boniface 3.* is manifest, first, out of *Platina*, who was no extraordinary favourer of Popes in *Boniface 3.* *Bonifacius tertius patria Romanus, à Phoca Imperatore obtinuit magna tamen contentione; ut sedes Beati Petri Apostoli, quæ est caput omnium Ecclesiarum, ita & diceretur & haberetur ab omnibus.* *Bonifacius* the third (sayes *Platina*) by Nation a Roman, obtain'd of *Phocas* the Emperour, that the seat of Blessed *Peter* the Apostle, which is head of all Churches, should be so call'd and esteem'd of all. 2. from *Carion* p. 229. *Sabiniano defuncto, creatus est Pontifex, 65. Bonifacius tertius hic autem Pontifex, ab Imperatore Phocà Augusto obtinuit ut Ecclesia Romana Beati Petri Apostolorum principis sedes, quæ jure Caput est omnium Ecclesiarum, ita & diceretur & haberetur ab omnibus &c.* *Sabinianus* being dead, *Boniface* the third was made Bishop, this Bishop obtain'd of the Emperour *Phocas* that the Roman Church, the Sea of *St. Peter* Prince of the Apostles, which by right is head of all Churches shou'd be so call'd and esteem'd by all, and he cites for this

O. suphrine

Onuphrius, Panninus, and Pompeius Letus, 3. Illesius in his spanish history of Popes, delivers the substance of *Phocas* his decree wherein it appears he constituted no more then this, that the Roman Bishop and no other was supream visible governour of the Militant Church, and that neither *Constantinople* nor *Ravenna*, nor any other City save old *Rome*, was deputed by our Saviour, and by *St. Peter*, and *Paul* for the seat of Christs vitar, and Prelates of the whole Church, now it is most evident that this constitution of *Phocas* was not (as you ungroundedly imagine,) the beginning of the Popes universal headship, for besides the many texts whch I have already alleadged and you acknowledged, from Councils, and Fatheis long before the time of *Phocas*, wherein the Bishop and Church of *Rome*, is acknowledged to be head of all Churches. *Iustinian* much ancienter then *Phocas* in codice parte prima lib. 1. Tit. 5. de sacro Sanctis Ecclesiis &c. (a) lege 4. nos Reddentes, in Epist. *Iustinian* ad *Johannem Papam* 15. Imp.

August. annoo. 1576. affirms the Bishop of *Rome* to be the head of all the holy Churches, and that the unitie of the whole Church derives it self from him, that all Priests of the Catholick and Apostolick Church, follow the Bishop of *Rome*, changing nothing of the state Ecclesiastical, which he to that time had continued. and then did continue; and many years before *Iustinian*, *Gratian*, *Valentinianus*,

(a) Nec patimur ut non vestra immutetur sanctitati, quod caput est omnium sanctarum Ecclesiarum, omnes vero sacerdotes sancta Catholica & Apostolica Ecclesia, & Reverendissima Archimandrita sanctorum Monasteriorum sequentes sanctitatem vestram, & custodientes statum & unitatem sanctarum Dei Ecclesiarum quam habent ab apostolica vestra sanctitatis sede, nihil penitus immutantes de Ecclesiastico statu quam hactenus ob inanis neque obiter suo consensu consistunt &c.

and *Theodosius* Emperours lib 1. cod. Tit. 3 *de summa Trinitate c. 1. Cunctos populos &c.* command that all who were within their Empire were to follow the doctrine of *St. Peter* delivered to the Romans; as the Religion continued in *Rome*, to that day declared, and which Pope *Damasus* then followed, and *Peter* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and that those only who followed that Religion, ought to embrace the name of *Catholicks*, and all others to be accounted as mad men, and *Hereticks*; and *John* Bishop of *Rome*, writes thus to *Justinian* Ibid. *lege quarta*, long before *Phocas* reign'd; That both the Rules of the Fathers & the statutes of the Emperours declares, the Sea of *Rome* is truly the head of all Churches; *Quam esse omnium vere Ecclesiarum caput & Patrum Regula, & principum statuta declarant.* And this done Pope *John* delivers this doctrine & precept, that all those who yield not obedience to his commands and laws should be esteemed as cast out of the Church, & therefore affirms that all those, who adhere to the doctrine of their own Bishops, & refuse to hear the voice of him their Pastor, he receiv'd not into his communion, but commanded them to be Aliens from the whole Catholick Church, *ab omni Ecclesia Catholica esse iussimus. alienos, n. b. ab omni Ecclesia*, it reaches to all Churches none excepted, and *iussimus*, it is a command from the Pope, In the Council of *Chalcedon*, many years before *Justinian*, it is said to be the head of all Churches, & to have alwaies had the *Primatum* the primacy, which word I have proved, signifies Ecclesiastical power & authoritie, and yet some years before, *Valentinian* (*ut supra*) ascribes the same authority to the Roman Bishop. Thus much in answer to your second part.

70. From page 293 to page 305. You busy your self in answering a question I propounded to you

you, which only say you page 292. you receiv'd instead of an answer; I wonder not you write this, but that you printed it, for before this was, or could be printed, it was sufficiently intimated to you that Mr. Johnson intended to answer your paper, and obliged himself to answer it wherewith you seem to be satisfied, and sure if he had before patience to expect your answer almost three quarters of a year, upon your excuse of being hindr'd by other more weighty employments, all equal proceeding should have obliged you to excuse him also, allcadging the like reason.

CHAP. VI.

Of Hereticks and Schismaticks.

Num. 71. *Whether some Hereticks are parts of the Church.* Mr. Baxter is in the affirmative, his explications unnecessary to the question. Num. 72. *His distinctions excluded in the termes of the question.* Num. 73. *His Citations from Alphonsus a Castro, Bellar. and Canus prove nothing.* Num. 74. *The negative is proved from scriptures and Fathers.* Num. 75. *The same is proved by reason.*

71. The question I propounded was this, as you have printed it page 293. (a) *Whether any professed Heretiques properly so called, are true parts of the universal visible Church of Christ, so that they compose one universal Church with the other visible parts of it.* And you first gave it this answer, (b) *My words are plain & distinctly answer your question, so that I know not, what more is needful for the explication of my sense, unless you would call us back from*

the thing to the word, by your [properly so called] you are answered already, Now the former answer to which you relate, is mentioned in my other to you, and printed by you page 292. (c) *Some are Heretiques for denying points essential to Christianity, and those are no Christians, and so not in the Church, but many are also called Heretiques by you, and by the Fathers, for lesser errors consistent with Christianity, and those may be in the Church.* You therefore grant the thing it self, that some profess, Heretiques are true members of the universal visible Church; this I confess is a categorical answer to my question, and you had no reason to add any more; but I see you love to be doing, and cannot remain quiet when the thing is well; but must be tampering with it though you marr it in the moulding, you take an occasion upon my words, *Heretick properly so called*, to intangle your self and your Reader through twelve pages in twelve distinctions, twelve conclusions, and twelve observations: and in this you descant upon *universal Church, Heretique, Schismaticque, properly so called &c*, being the principal words used in my question, now to what purpose all this? had not you the word universal Church, Heretique, Schismaticque, repeated often over through your whole writing, and did you not think your self sufficiently understood when you writ them, if you did not, why omitted you *then* to explicate the termes, so that you might be understood? if you did then speak clearly and distinctly, what need had you now to give any further explication, did I complain that I understood not what you meant by these termes?

72. But it is much more absonous to heare you distinguish termes, in order to the answer of my question, by distinctions excluded in the proposition of the question, p

293. I mention *the universal visible Church of Christ*, can any Christian speak more distinctly then I do, in the expression of the Church, you say page 294. We are not agreed what the universal visible Church is, what of that? are we not agreed there is such a thing, think you or I what we will of the definition of it, 'tis sufficient to give an answer *pro* or *con* to my question, whether Heretiques be true members of the Church, that we agree there is such a thing as the universal visible Church of Christ; and it will be timely enough, to explicate what you mean by the universal visible Church, when your answer is impugned. Then page 294. you distinguish Heretique properly so called into Etimological, Canonical, & usual, & all these you reject as insufficient, to know what is meant by an *Heretick properly so called*, so that after you have so often treated in this and other books of Heretiques, either you speak of them alwaies improperly, or know not what you say when you speak of them as properly understood, or you have here made an insufficient division of an *Heretique properly so called* but see you not again, that whatsoever you or I understand by Heretique properly so called, we both agree there are Heretiques properly so call'd, & thats enough to answer my question; then page 295, you distinguish Heretique first into Heretique in opinion and in communion, and then you run into seven more distinctions of Heretiques, never considering that I had express'd my question in such termes, that all these distinctions were excluded by the very termes, I say thus, whether any *professed Heretiques &c.* now could you not have said that some professed Heretiques are parts of the Catholique Church, without making such a pudder with so many distinctions, what was it to my question, that *some are convicted others tryed, some judg-*

ed by Pastors, others by others, some by usurpers, some by lawful Judges, &c. I did not demand what sort of Heretiques properly so called, were held by you to be of the Church, but whether you held any at all to be of it, of what sort soever they were, was all one to me; should any one demand this question of you, whether any who exercised the work of the ministrie, since the year 1640 were favourers of the late Rebels against his Majestie, and you in answer should distinguish (as you do here) that some of them were Episcopal, other Presbyterial, some who were first Presbiters turned Independents, and others Anabaptists, some Seckers and others Ranters, some Millinaries, and others Quakers, some studied in the Universities, and others went no further then the Country Schools, some were tradesmen and others souldiers, some Trumpeters, and others Drummers, some fancied the Rebe's by preaching Rebellion in Pulpits, others by framing the Covenants, these by putting on buff coats and turning Collonels or Captaines, and fighting valiantly in the field, those by instituting associations of Counties, others by writing seditious books and pamphlets, comparing old *Noll* to *David*, and young *Dick* to *Solomon*, &c. and those distinctions premised you should draw twelve conclusions, which of those were, or were not partakers with the Rebe's; could not you have saved all this labour and said in a word, yes, some who exercised the work of the Ministrie, favoured the Rebels; seeing no more then this was demanded of you: but yet farther in your distinctions of Heretiques, you interlace such as are expressly excluded in my question, I demand whether Heretiques properly so called are true members of the Church page 293. you answer p. 296, Prop. 1. That Schismatiques, that is Heretiques *improperly so called* are no parts of it,

it, whats that to my question? I demand whether any professed Heretiques, are parts of the Catholique Church page 297. That some Heretiques if latent, that is *not professed* Heretiques may be parts of it, nay you are not content to answer thus farr from the question, but contradict one answer by another, you say page 293 that your answer was plain in your paper sent me *videlicet*, that some Heretiques properly so called are parts of the Catholique Church page 229. prop. 7. you say that some *softer Heresie excludes no man from the Church of it selfe, unless they are legally convicted of wicked impenitency and obstinacy in defending it*, and then it seemes to exclude them; that is all Heresie excludes them, for no man is guilty of Heresie unless he defend it obstinately and impenitently, nor is to be held for an Heretique till he be convicted of that obstinacy; and thus much you acknowledge your self page 298. n. 7. where you constitute formal Heresie *inobstinacy* saying, 7. *They are either judged to be materially, as to the qualitie of their Error, Heretiques, or also formally as obstinate, impenitent, and habitually stated Heretiques.* So then by your own confession, all obstinate, that is, all formal, that is, Heretiques properly so called are excluded from being true members of the Church. Thus you answer page 193. Some Heretiques properly so called are excluded from being of the Church, this I call a contradiction, what call you't? Nay farther in this answer, you th'wart what you answered in your book against me, there without any exception, you affirm page 11. Schismatiques to be true parts of the Church, and here you exclude some Schismatiques from being true parts of the Church; there you say whosoever held all the Essentials as do all Schismatiques, as contradistinct from Heretiques *properly so call'd* are true parts of Christ;

Christs visible Church, because they are constituted Christians, by believing all the Essentials of Christianity. And here you say that some schismaticks, who are contra-distinct from hereticks, and consequently believe all the essentials are not parts of the Church; nor yet is this all, you contradict your self in one and the same sentence, p. 297. you say thus, *but should any* (schismaticks, for you speak of those only here,) *renounce the body of Christ as such, and separate (not from this or that Church) but from the whole, or from the universal Church as such, this man would not be a member of the Church.* Now to separate from the body of Christ, or from the universal Church *as such*, is to separate from it, as it is the universal Church of Christ, and as it is the body of Christ, *quatenus talis*, but that is to renounce Christ and Christianity, and consequently to lose the Christian faith, and thereby to become an *Apostata*, that is, neither heretick nor schismatick, so that according to you a schismatick, which is no schismatick, is no part of the Church of Christ; for never was there yet any schismatick, which separated from the body of Christ as such, that is, as it was the body of Christ, but by some false pretence or other, perswaded himself that not the visible company of Christians which he left, but his separate party was Christs Church; as may be seen in the Donatists, Luciferians, and others. Now all those who believe all essentials of Christian faith (as you understand essentials) are you say, true parts of Christs visible Church, because they are univocal Christians, & consequently all those who believe no essential of Christian faith, can be no Christians, & so no parts of the Christian Church: if therefore you mean such only as separate from the whole Church as such, that is, as it is Christs universal Church, you make them not erroneous in faith, but rejecters and contemners of Christ and Christi-

Christianity, and thereby Apostataes from the faith,

73. Pag. 300. you cite again *Alphonsus* of *Castro*, whose opinion I have already evidenced not to prove your intent, nor second your opinion: then you cite *Bell. de Ecclesia, libro 3. c. 4.* saying thus, *Haeretici pertinent ad Ecclesiam, ut oves ad ovile, unde confugerunt.* And then you add this inference, so they are *oves* still; would you have similitudes to go upon all four? is it not sufficient to *Bellar.* purpose, that it agrees in this, that both are out of the fold, 'tis true a natural sheep is a sheep, whether it be in the fold or no, but so is not a sheep of Christ, which is his sheep actually no longer then it is in his fold; *the Church*, though both he and his Church have power over it, to reduce it into the fold, or medicinally to shut the gate against it, and keep it out till it give satisfaction. Might you not as well have carp'd at our Saviour's words, as you do at *Bellarmines*, when he said, *& alias oves habeo, quae non sunt ex hoc ovile*, and I have other sheep which are not of this fold, *Joan. 10. so that they are oves, sheep still*, though our Saviour say they be not of his fold, know you not that those were by him call'd sheep; which though they were not actually his, yet were in time to be of his fold, and when he had reduced them to his fold would be his sheep actually. This done you add, *and if it be but ovile particulare; veluti Romanum) that they fly from, and not the universal, that proves them not out of the universal Church.* Who sayes it does? why interlace you such parergons as those? treats *Bell.* here of any particular fold? speaks he not expressly of the whole universal Church which he defined cap. 2? but by the rules of contraries, you should affirm here against yourself, that if all hereticks fly from the universal Church, they cannot be in the universal Church.

Now

Now it is most evident that all heretiques fly from the universal Church; *ergo*, none of them can be in the universal Church: for therefore are they hereticks, because they either reject obstinately some doctrine sufficiently propounded to them, as taught by the universal Church to be a point of Christian faith, or imbrace some doctrine sufficiently propounded to them to be rejected by the universal Church, as an error in Christian faith, *de Eccles. l. 3. c. 2.* Next you bring in Bellar. thus. And Bellar. saith of the *Catechumenis & excommunicatis*, that they are *de anima etsi non de corpore Ecclesie*. Now who can understand by those words of yours, but that Bellar. teaches absolutely that both all, as well *excommunicati* as *Catechumeni*, are *de anima Ecclesie*, of the soul of the Church, whereas he speaks only *sub conditione*, conditionally, not absolutely, and so of some excommunicate persons, but not of all, that is, such (as he declares himself, c. 6. sect. *Respondeo lucem esse, &c.*) have faith, and charity, as being either unjustly excommunicated, or repenting before they be absolutely absolv'd by the Church from excommunication; Bellar. words, cap. 2. clipt off in the midst by you, are those, *Rursum aliqui sunt de anima, & non de corpore, ut Catechumeni, vel excommunicati, si fidem & charitatem habeant, quod fieri potest.* Again, sayes Bell. *some are of the soul (of the Church) and not of the body, as are the unbaptized or excommunicate, if they have faith and charity which may happen.* You see how candidly you have proceeded with Bellarmine, and in this sense, and no other, is *Canus* to be understood, whom you cite next out of Bellarmine, and if you could prove any profest heretick properly so call'd, had faith and charity, I would acknowledge with Bellar. that they were *de anima Ecclesie*, of the soul of the Church, or *de*
Ec-

Ecclesia, quæ comprehendit omnes fideles, &c. of the Church which comprehends all the faithful from *Abel* to the end of the world ; you see by this, how unfairly you have dealt with *Cannus* also. What follows in answer of yours to my question, *whether profess'd hereticks properly so called, are true parts of the visible Church*, is upon matter of fact, who are, or who are not in particular rightly condemn'd for hereticks, which is an alien to my question ; and so neither worth the answering nor reading. I come now to the question it self.

74. That therefore no profess'd heretick properly so called, is or can be a true part of *Christs* universal visible Church, I prove by those arguments, 1. *St. Paul* in his 3 to *Titus*, v. 10, 11. writes thus, *A man that is an heretick, after the first and second admonition, reject, knowing that he that is such is subverted and sinneth being condemned of himself.* Thus yours translate the words, but the vulgar and *Pagninus* have it, *devita, avoid, or decline from*, it signifies also in *Scapula*, to refuse, remove, or expel one from them ; where the *Apostle* speaking indefinitely, is to be understood of all profess'd hereticks properly so called, so that all such hereticks are to be avoided, rejected, removed, or expelled from the community and society of all Christians, for the same reason which obliged *Titus* to avoid them, obliged all the faithful, which is nothing but to be depriv'd of the communion of the universal Church, and so (even in your principles) just now deliver'd to be cast out of the Church ; and *St. Hierom* expounds those words that Hereticks are cast out of the Church by themselves leaving the Church, and separating themselves from it by their obstinacy in error. 2. *St. John* in his first Epistle and second chapter, verse 19. *ex nobis*

bis exerunt, They went out from us, where the Apostle speaks in general of all heretiques, and of the whole visible Church of Christ, for how could it be manifest they were not of the Church (as St. *John* sayes it was) if they did not visibly go out of it?

(a) *St. Cypri. lib. ep. 8. & unit. Eccl. sive de simplicitate.*

Thus also St. *Cyprian* & (a) St. *Hierom* and St. *Aug.* writing upon those words expound them. 3. *Joh. ep. 2. v. 9, 10, 11.* whosoever 'transgresseth, and abides not in the

'doctrine of Christ, hath not God, he that abideth in
'the doctrine of Christ hath both the Father and the
'Son; if there come any unto you, and bring not this
'doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid
'him God speed, for he that biddeth him God speed, is
'partaker of his evil works. Where the Apostle without any distinction or exception, intends the denial of communion through the whole Church (for he gives a general precept to all Christians) to all those who teach contrarie to the doctrine of Christ. And this not as to others scandalous sinners, lest they should draw others to sin by their bad example, but as to Hereticks, for no other crime then their maintaining a doctrine contrary to the doctrine of Christ, and that in what point soever it be, for he speaks in general of all doctrine contrary to that of Christ. Now since all profess'd Hereticks, properly so call'd, teach contrary to Christs doctrine in some point or other, they are all to be avoided, and deny communion thorough the whole Church & consequently are out of the whole Churches communion, and so out of the Catholique Church. This is proved from the authorities both of the ancient fathers, later Doctors and Protestant Authors, which are cited and confirm'd at large in *schism unmask'd*, in a late conference with Doctor

Etdr *Gunning* and Doctor *Pierſon*, from p. 131. to p.
 188. where the very definition of ſchiſm and hereſie,
 of ſchiſmaticks and heretiques make it moſt manifeſt,
 that no profeſs'd heretick or ſchiſmatick properly ſo
 call'd, can ſo long as they remain in that ſtate, be true
 parts of the Catholique Church. Theſe following I cite
 for a brief confirmation of this truth. St. *Aug. de fide*
& ſymbolo c. 10. quapropter nec hereticus pertinet ad
Eccleſiam Catholicam, quoniam diligit Deum, nec ſchiſ-
maticus quoniam diligit proximum, wherefore neither
 doth an heretick belong to the Catholick Church, be-
 cauſe ſhe (the Church) loves God, nor a ſchiſmatick, be-
 cauſe ſhe loves her neighbour. And *Optatus lib. 1. cont.*
Parmenianum, addreſſing himſelf to the Donatiſts
 (whom you ſay were not ſeparated from the Church)
 ſayes thus. *Deſerta matre Catholica impij filij dum*
foras excurrunt, & ſe ſeparant, ut vos feciſtis, a radi-
ce matris Eccleſia, invidia falcibus amputati, erran-
do rebelles abcedunt. The Catholique mother (that is
 the Church) being forſaken, wicked children run abroad
 and ſeparate themſelves as you have done, being cut off
 from the root of their mother the Church, by erring, as
 rebels depart from her. Now was it the unanimous con-
 ſent alone of the holy ancient Fathers, and all later
 authors, yours and ours, but the univerſal agreement of
 all Chriſtendom, for even in St. *Cyprian* time, when
 the matter of rebaptization was ſo hotly agitated
 through the whole Church, both parties and conſe-
 quently all Chriſtian Churches, agreed in this, that all
 profeſſed hereticks and ſchiſmaticks, properly ſo cal-
 led, were out of the Catholique viſible Church of Chriſt,
 for this was the very ground whereupon St. *Cyprian*, and
 his party founded their opinion (as appears in the ſaid
 citations, and is deliver'd by all authors that treat of
 it,)

it, that they were to be rebaptized ; nor was this pre-supposed ground of their being no members of the Church ever called so much in question as by the opposers of *Rebaptization*, but supposed as a known undeniable truth by the whole Church, insomuch that the Council of *Nice* it self, supposing this as a manifest truth, condemned the doctrine of *Rebaptization* as an heresie ; as *St. Aug.* witnesseth in his book *de Baptismo contra Donatistas*, which is largely explicated in *Schism* unmask'd now cited from page 557 to page 566, this universal perswasion continued ever since amongst Christians, and I provoke you to cite any Author ancient or modern, yours, ours, or of any other Professor amongst the Christians, who before you taught that professed hereticks properly so called, were true parts of the visible Church of Christ.

St. Cyprian epist. 40. *Panas quas meruerunt perpendunt ; ut a vobis non ejelli ultro se ejicerent, de Ecclesiâ sponte se pellerent.*

St. Hierom cited by *Dr. Hammond* in his book of *Schism*, *Marg.* 14. *Propria conscientia videtur esse damnatio, cum quispiam suo arbitrio ab Ecclesiâ recesserit.*

This is also the undoubted and constant doctrine of *St. Cyprian* lib. 5. epist. 6. *ad magnum Schismaticos v. g. Novatianum in Ecclesiâ non esse, nec gregis pastorem*, That Schismatiques were not in the Church, v. g. *Novatian* nor Pastor of the flock, *Si autem Grex unus est, quomodo gregi connumerari potest, qui in Numero gregis non est* ; But, saith he, If the flock be one, how can he be annumerated to the flock, who is not in the number of the flock, *aut Pastor haberi quomodo potest, qui alienus sit & prophanus*, Or how can he be esteem'd a Pastor, who is become an Alien, and a prophane

prophane person, *Non habitans in domo Dei*, not dwelling in the house of God, that is in the Church of God :and it is most evident that St. *Cyprian* was of this opinion, for it appears in his works that he held the rebaptization of those which were baptised by Schismaticques, as well as by Heretiques, because he esteem'd them both equally out of the Church, St. *Cyprian* lib. 2. ep. ad *Septimum* & Epist. 9. ad eundem. And *Lucius a Castra galba in consilio Carthaginensi sub Cypriano*; Item *Schismaticos non posse condire sapientia spirituali, cum ipsi ab Ecclesia, qua una est, recedendo, infatuati contrarii facti sunt.* Neither can Schismatics season with spiritual wisdom, because, they being corrupted by receding from the Church, become contrary or adversaries. This is also taught most Emphatically by St. *Augustine* lib. de unitate Ecclesie cap. 4. cited by you in your second part, *Quicumque credunt quidem quod Iesus Christus, ita ut dictum est, in carne venerit, & in eadem carne in qua natus & passus est, resurrexerit; & ipse sit filius Dei, Deus apud Deum &c. Si tamen ab ejus corpore, quod est Ecclesia ita dissentiant, ut eorum communio non sit cum tota quacunque diffunditur, sed in aliqua parte separata inveniat, manifestum est, eos non esse in Catholica Ecclesia.* Whosoever believes that Jesus Christ, as is said, is come in flesh, and that he rose again in the same flesh, wherein he was born and suffered, and that he is the Son of God, and God with God, &c. Notwithstanding if they dissent so from his body, which is the Church, that their communion be not with the whole Church wherefoever it be diffus'd, but be found in some separate part, it is manifest that they are not in the Catholique Church, Which words cannot be understood of any but Schismaticques. St. *Fulgent de fide ad Petrum* cap.

38. *Firmissime tene, & nullatenus dubita, non solum omnes Paganos, sed etiam omnes Judeos, Hæreticos, & Schismaticos, qui extra Ecclesiam Catholicam, presentem finiunt vitam in ignem æternum ituros &c.* Believe most firmly, and doubt not at all, that not only all Pagans, but also all Jewes, Heretiques and Schismaticques which end their lives out of the Catholique Church shall go into eternal fire. St Cyprian also Ep. 40. above cited, supposes some Schismaticques, and a *fortiore* all Heretiques, to be out of the Catholique Church. And the separation of all Heretiques from the Church, St. Austin treats Tom. 9. de symbolo, lib. 2. c. 5. *Hæreses omnes de illa exierunt (scilicet Ecclesia) tanquam sarmenta inutelia de vite precisa, ipsa autem manet in sua radice; Porta inferorum non vincet eam.* All Heresies have gon out of her (that is the Chuerch) as unprofitable branches cut of from the vine: but she (the Church) remaines in her root, the gates of Hell shall not overcome her; St. Cyprian Epist. ad Florentium Pupianum, Epist. 69. In which Epistle he reprehends Pupianus for his insolency, *Et quia fecit se Episcopum Episcopi*; and proves himself a holy Catholique by his communion with the Church, and with the chief Pastor, and demonstrate Schism by the contrary. *Inde Schismata & Hæreses aborta sunt, & oriuntur dum Episcopus, qui unus est, & Ecclesia præest, superba quorundam presumptione contemnitur, & homo dignatione Dei honoratus indignus hominibus iudicatur.* From hence arise Schisms when the Bishop that is one, and who is the Governor of the Church, is contemned by the proud persumption of some, and the man of God honor'd by him, is dishonored by men.

Epist. ad Rogatianum, Epist. de superbo Diacono, Hac sunt enim initia Hæreticorum & ortus & conatus Schisma-

Schismaticorum male cogitantium, ut sibi placeant; ut prapositum superbo tumore contemnunt; sic de Ecclesia, receditur, sic Altare prophanum foris collocatur, sic contra pacem Christi, & ordinationem, & unitatem Dei rebellatur. These are the Origine of heretiques and Schismatiques, who to please themselves contemn the president of the Church, and so rebel against the peace of Christ and the ordination and unitie of God, and in the entrance of the same Epist. he compares Schismatiques to *Corah, Dathan & Abiram*, who sepearate themselves from the communion of the Jewes, and their high Priest *Aaron*.

St. Aug. lib. 20. contr. Faustum c. 30. Schisma est eadem opinantem & eodem ritu colentem, quo ceteri, solo congregationis delectari dissidio, Schism is a voluntary *Dissidium* or separation of one, who agrees in doctrine from the Congregation viz. of the Church.

St. Aug. lib. 4. contr. Donatistas Cap. 14. Nam & cetera omnia vera vel censeatis vel habeatis, & in eadem separatione tamen duretis, contra vinculum fraternae pacis, adversus unitatem omnium fratrum. Thus he states the Schism of the Donatists, if ye continue in sepearation against the bond of Brotherly peace, and unitie of all the Brethren, that is, of the whole Church.

Lib. 2. contr. Donatistas, cap. 6. Respondete quare vos separastis? quare contra orbem terrarum Altare erexistis? quare non communicastis Ecclesis? respondete quare separastis; propterea certe ne malorum communione periretis, Quomodo Ergo non perierunt Cyprianus & Collega ejus? quare ab innocentibus separastis Sacrilgium Schismatis vestrum defendere non potestis. The holy Father disputing against Schismatiques asks them, as we *à pari* aske Protestants; why have you se-

Parated your selves ? why have you erected an Altar against the whole world, answer me, why did you separate ? certainly you separated, least you should perish in the communion of the wicked, how then did not *Cyprian* and his colleagues perish ?

Lib. contra Petilianum, nulla igitur Ratio fuit, sed Maximus furor, quod isti, velut communionem caventes, se ab unitate Ecclesia, qua toto orbe terrarum diffunditur separarunt. There was no cause but a great madness that they fearing communion, should separate themselves from the unity of the Church, through the whole earth, what can be more evident then this, that *St. Aug.* held the *Donatists* to be out of the Church, which you flatly deny. *St. Hierome, Hæretici de Deo falso sentiendo ipsam fidem violant, Schismatici discessionibus iniquis a fraterna charitate diffiliunt, quamvis ea credunt qua credimus.* Heretiques by teaching false things of God violate the Faith, Schismatiques by unjust seperations depart from fraternal charity, though they believe the same thing with us. Nothing can destroy more fully your novelty, then do these words, for he speaks indefinitely of all Heretiques, and affirms that they violate the faith, and consequently have no faith, without which they cannot be true members of Christs Church ; and that all Schismatiques leave fraternal charity, which is necessary to be in the unity of the Church.

St. Hieron. comment. in Ep. ad Titum. c. 3. Propterea vero a semetipso dicitur esse damnatus (Hæreticus) quia Fornicator, Adulter, Homicida, & cætera vitia per sacerdotes de Ecclesia propelluntur ; Hæretici autem in semetipsos sententiam dicant suo arbitrio ab Ecclesia recedendo. Therefore he (an Heretique) is said to be
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condemned of himself, because a Fornicator, an Adulterer, a Murtherer, and the like vices, are expelled out of the Church by the Priests, but Heretiques pronounce a sentence against themselves, by receding or departing from the Church of their own accord. Does not this profound Doctor condemn your novelty in these words, both by teaching that all Heretiques (for he speaks indefinitely) depart from the Church, and by shewing a difference betwixt other criminal finners, and Heretiques, when they are to be avoided, which you labour to put in the same state, with some Heretiques, *viz.* That other finners are cast out of the Church, but Heretiques out themselves : and yet farther, that even other criminal finners, when they are excommunicated, are no actual parts of the Church (as you hold they are) because they are cast out of it, which doctrine is also Emphatically delivered by St. *Aug.* l. 11. quest. cap. 3. *Omnis Christianus qui excommunicatur Satana traditur: quomodo? Scilicet quia extra Ecclesiam est diabolus, Sicut in Ecclesia Christus: ac per hoc quasi diabolo traditur, qui ab Ecclesia communione removetur. Vnde illos, quos Apostolus Satana traditos esse pradicat, esse excommunicatos demonstrat.* Every Christian who is excommunicated, is delivered up to Sathan, how that? to wit, because the devil is without the Church, as Christ is in the Church: and by this he is as it were delivered to the devil, who-soever is removed from the communion of the Church, whence the Apostle demonstrates those to be excommunicated, whom he pronounces to be delivered to Sathan, whence followes also that seeing all profess Heretiques are excommunicated persons, that according to St. *Aug.* they are all out of the Church. I forbear the citation of more Authors, esteeming these sufficient.

75. I have at large deduc'd the reason of this truth against you in my answer to your first part. The sum whereof is this, that whosoever disbelieves any divine truth, sufficiently propounded to him as such, disbelieves the infallible truth of Gods word, and consequently evacuates the formal object of Christian faith, & thereby destroyes faith, which cannot subsist without its formal object, and by that destroyes Christianity (in so much as in him lyes) and consequently Gods Church, nay, and God himself; whence also follows that such a disbeliever hath no supernatural faith at all of any other articles which he believes, but a meer humane, natural, and fallible assent to them, for he cannot assent to any of them, because they are reveal'd by Gods infallible authority, for he hath made that fallible in disbelieving something which is sufficiently notified to him, to be revealed from God. Now if he have no true faith, he can neither have salvation, nor be a member of Christs true Church, which is directly destructive of your novelty.

That which has deceiv'd you, and such as follow you in this, is, that you make your whole reflection upon the material object of faith, which considered alone, is as a dead carcass in respect of true Christian faith, seeing it wants the soul and life of it, the infallible authority of God revealing it; and though hereticks perversely perswade and delude themselves, they assent for the infallible authority of God, to such articles as they believe, yet seeing we now suppose there is no defect in the proposition of such articles as they believe not, that they are reveal'd from God, they being propos'd to them equally with other articles which they believe, in reallity there is no other cause of their disbelief, then that they attribute not an infallible authority to God, revealing the

the said articles which they disbelieve. Now if he be fallible in one, he is infallible in nothing, for his erring in one, supposes him subject to error, which is to be fallible. And as faith is wanting, so is external communion also to every profest heretick and schismatick, as we have seen, nor will the communion of one heretick or schismatick with another serve the turn, as St. *Aug.* cited by your self delivers, *l. de unitate Eccles. c. 4.* That such as communicate with a part, and not with the whole wheresoever it is diffused, it is manifest they are not in the Catholick Church. Now suppose, one singular person turn a professed heretick or schismatick, and leaves the external communion of the whole Church, he can have no external communion at all; if then he seduce to his party another, that other can have no communion but with the first, who had no communion with the Church; so that their communion is without the Church, and so will ever be, though they increase to thousands and millions.

This truth therefore thus established, my first argument returns upon you; shew me said I, any Congregation of Christians perpetually visible, besides that which acknowledges the Popes supremacy, &c. This you have not been able to do, but by producing known and notorious heretical congregations, those I have proved not to be either one and the same congregation amongst themselves, (which I demanded) nor one with the Catholick visible Church, because no profess'd hereticks properly so call'd, can be true members of the true Church. And particularly you fail in this second part; for till you prove Protestants to be no hereticks, you can never evince them to be true parts of Christs visible Church. Now therefore it remains that you begin again, and find out some new solution for my argument,
for

for as yet you have brought nothing satisfactory to salve it: but I hope God will give you the grace, to desist from such impossible enterprises, strike you with a sweet stroak of mercy (as he did St. Paul) and change you into a child of his holy Church, which are the truest hearty desires of

Your assured best wishing friend,

William Johnson.

The Catholick Church,

The chief terms used in this Controversie, disputed betwixt Mr. Baxter and William Johnson.

William Johnson.

THe Catholick Church of Christ, is all those visible Assemblies, Congregations, or Communities of Christians, who live in unity of true faith and external Communion with one another, and in dependance of their lawfull Pastours.

Mr. Baxter. Of your definition of the Catholick Church.

Qu. 2. Whether you exclude not all those converted among Infidels that never had external Communion, nor were members of any particular visible Church, of which you make the Catholick to be constituted.

William Johnson.

It is sufficient that such be subject to the supream Pastours in *voto*, or *quantum in se est*, resolved to be of that particular Church actually, which shall or may be designed for them by that Pastour, to be included in my Definition.

Mr. Baxter.

*You see then that your Definitions signifie nothing ;
no man knows your meaning by them.*

William Johnson.

You shall presently see that your Exceptions signifie
lesse then nothing.

Mr. Baxter.

*First, you make the Catholick Church to consist onely
of visible Assemblies ; and after you allow such to be
members of the Church, that are no visible Assemblies.*

William Johnson.

I make those converted Infidells visible Assemblies, as
my Definition speaks, though not actuall members of
any particular visible Church, as your Exception speaks;
for though every particular visible Church be an Assem-
bly of Christians, yet every Assembly of Christians is
not a particular visible Church ; I do not therefore al-
low such to be of the Church, who are no visible As-
semblies, as you misconceive me.

Mr. Baxter.

*2. You now mention subjection to the supream Pa-
stour as sufficient, which in your discription or Definiti-
on you did not.*

William

William Johnson.

Am I obliged to mention all things in my Definitions which I express, after in answering your Exceptions prove that.

Mr. Baxter.

3. If to be only in voto resolved to be of a particular Church will serve, then inexistence is not necessary; to be only in voto of the Catholick Church, proves no man a member of the Catholick Church, but proves the contrary, because it is *Terminus Diminuens*; seeing then by your own confession, inexistence in a particular Church is not of necessity to inexistence in the Catholick Church; why do you not only mention it in your Definition, but confine that Church to such.

William Johnson.

I make them *Actually* inexistant in some visible Assembly, according to my Definition, and in voto only in a particular Church, which is your Exception; now every particular family, or neighbourhood, nay, of two or three gathered together in prayer, is an actual Assembly of Christians, though it be no actual particular Church; for according to *S. Hierom, Ecclesia est plebs unita Episcopo*; now this part of my Definition, so much here opposed by you, is in effect the same with the first part of the Definition of the visible Church, delivered in your 39. Articles. Article 19. for that sayes, the visible Church of Christians is a Congregation of faithfull men, &c. And my Definition sayes, the Catholick Church

Church is all those Assemblies, Congregations, or Communities of Christians, who live in unity of faith, &c. which unity makes them one intire and universal congregation of the faithfull. In this therefore consists your fallacy, that you esteeme none to be actually members of the universal Church, unlesse they be actual members of some particular Church, which I denie ; and affirm that one may be actually a member of the universal Church, though he be not actually, but *in voto*, a member of any particular Church ; for to be actually of the universal, requires no more necessarily, then to be an actual part of some Assembly, though it be no particular Church.

Reply.

Will you say you meant in voto, who then can understand you when you say they must be of visible Assemblies, and mean they need not be of any, but onely to wish, desire, or purpose it.

Rejoynder.

This is answered already above ; it is not necessary all should be actual members of any particular Church, it is sufficient if they be actually of some Assembly or Congregation of Christians, though it be no particular Church.

Mr. Baxter.

But yet you say nothing to my case in its latitude, many a one may be converted to Christ by a solitary Preacher, or by two or three, that never tell him that there is any supream pastour in the world; how then can he be subject

to that supposed Pastour, that never heard of him. The English and Dutch convert many Indians to the faith of Christ, that never heard of a supream Pastour.

William Johnson.

Whether he be named or no, yet the Church must be supposed to be sufficiently explicated to those Convertists ; and that must be represented, as having some prudent manner of Government ; so that they must be instructed to render obedience to such Governours as Christ instituted in his Church ; which seeing all of my profession hold to be by a chief Pastour, and I have here undertaken to prove it is so, by subjecting themselves to Christs manner of Government, they virtually subject themselves to a chief Pastour.

Mr. Baxter.

If it be necessary that a particular Church must be assigned for such members by the supream Pastours, then they are yet little the better that never have any Assignment from him (as few have.)

Rejoynder.

Who says it is necessary *ad esse*, to be a part of the Catholick Church, that all Assemblies of Christians should be actual members of some particular visible Church, prove I say so, from my words ; nor is it necessary the chief Pastour should assign any, it suffices, that those Christians be resolved to conform when it is assigned.

Mr. Baxter.

Qu. 2. What is that faith in unity where all members of the Catholick Church do live? Is it the belief of all that God hath revealed to be believed? or of part, and what part.

William Johnson.

Ans. Of all, either explicitly, or implicitly.

Mr. Baxter.

Your second Answer further proves, that your Definitions signifie just nothing; they must live in the unity of the faith, that is, either with faith or without it; with a belief of what God hath revealed to be believed, or without it; for to believe any point implicitly in your ordinary sense is not to believe it, but onely to believe one of the premises whence the conclusion must be infer'd. But why do you not tell me what you mean (by an implicate faith?) faith is called implicate in several senses. 1. When several truths are actually understood and believed in confuso, or in grosse, in some one proposition which containeth the substance of them all; but not with accurate distinct conceptions, nor such as are ripe for any fit expression. This indistinct, immature, imperfect kind of apprehension, may be called implicate. 2. When a general proposition is believed as the matter of our faith, but the particulars are not understood or not believed. As to believe that omne Animal vivit, not knowing whether you be Animal or Cadaver; or to believe (all that is in Scripture is the word of God and

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true) but not to know (what is in the Scripture.) 3. What is onely the formal object of faith, that is believed without understanding the Material object. The first sort of these I confess is actual though indistinct; but I suppose you mean not this. 1. Because it is not the ordinary sense of your party. 2. Because else you damn either all the world, or most of your own professed party, at least as no members of the Church; for few or none have an actual understanding and belief of all that God ever revealed to them; because all men (or most at least) have been sinfully negligent in searching after, and receiving truth, and so are sinfully ignorant; no man knoweth all that God hath revealed, or that he ought to know. 3. Because by this rule it is impossible for you, or any man to know who is indeed a member of your Church; for you cannot know mens confused knowledge, or know that it extendeth to all revealed; for if you speak of all revealed in general, or in Scripture, you still damn all (or most in your own sense) for none, as I said, understand it all to a word; but if you speak of all which that particular man hath had sufficient means to know. It is then impossible for you to make a judgement of any mans faith by this, for you can never discern all the means (internal or external) that ever he had, much less can you discern whether his faith be commensurate to the truth so farre revealed; so that by this course you make your Church invisible, I pray tell me how you can avoid it.

William Johnson.

Your discourse about implicite faith seems strange; I require a proof from you, that in your ordinary sense, it is no belief at all. 2. That it is onely to believe one

of the premises whence the conclusion must be inferr'd.

3. Tell me why you require that I should have declared to you, what I meant by implicate faith, when you suppose that I speak in the ordinary sense of our schoolmen, and I could not but suppose you understood their doctrine. 4. Why do you put the belief of the formal object without the belief of the material object of faith, a third member of implicate belief; or who did ever so before you? 5. Why do you confound the two first members of your Distinction, both of them being knowledge or belief *in confuso*; your first is, *when several truths are actually understood and believed in confuso, or in gross, in some one proposition which containeth the substance of them all, &c. thus you.* Your second is, *to believe that omne animal vivit, not knowing whether you be Animal or Cadaver, or to believe that all that is in Scripture is the word of God and true, but not to know what is in the Scripture, thus you.* Now tell me, does not this proposition *omne Animal vivit*, contain the substance of these truths, *Equus vivit, Leo vivit, Aquila vivit, &c.* so that by believing or knowing this proposition distinctly, *omne Animal vivit*, I believe or know *in confuso*, those other propositions contained, as *species* under their *genus* in it; and the like is of your second proposition, for believing all that is in Scripture is the word of God, and true expressly; I believe *in confuso*, all that is in *Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, &c.* to be the word of God, and true; though I neither believe or know expressly and distinctly all that is contained in those books, can you deny this? If you proceed in Philosophical principles, is not the express knowledge of the *genus* a confused knowledge of *species* under it? and an express knowledge of the *species*, a confused knowledge of the *individua* under it? and a know-

knowledge or belief (when they are known or believed) in *confuso*? Thus you give distinctions without differences, and examples to illustrate your distinctions which quite destroy them. 6. Why put you a contradictory proposition, you say thus; not knowing whether you (that is such a man) be *Animal* or *Cadaver*; now this is a plain implicancy in *adjecto*, for it is as impossible that you or any man should be a *Cadaver*, as that a man should be a barn door, the one being as truly disparate from a true man, as the other; and dispartes you know cannot predicate the one of the other, every one therefore knows, who knows what a man is, that no man is or can be *Cadaver*, a dead carcass; so that no man can be ignorant, whether you be *Animal* or *Cadaver*. A little more heed to what you write, would do well when you dispute. 7. Why say you, you suppose I mean not your first manner of implicate faith, when I and all who understand themselves, must either mean that or nothing. The object of implicate faith delivered in the Schools, being nothing else save particular truths contained in substance under some general proposition; so that though they be neither known, nor believed distinctly, or expressly, yet they are known or believed in *confuso*, confusedly and implicitly, by the knowledge or belief of their general proposition. 8. Why misconceive you the notion of implicate faith; it is not, as you conceit, therefore no faith at all, of all the particulars in Scripture; because he who has it, understands not distinctly many truths contained in Scripture; for a Christian has implicate faith, because (such determinate truths being *de facto* contained in Scripture) by believing all that is contained therein, he believes confusedly or implicitly every one of the said truths, though he have not distinct knowledge of many of them. 9. But most
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of all I wonder, why you take my second answer in a quite other sense than I intended it ; for your second question being this, *whether I mean by faith, the belief of all that God hath revealed to be believed, or of part, &c.* My Answer is this, *of all, either Explicitly, or Implicitly* ; that is, that those of the Catholick Church must believe all the very same Articles and points of faith ; by an Explicite faith in order at least to some of them, and by an Implicit faith in order to the rest ; so an explicite faith of some Articles is necessary to all who actually believe with a Divine faith ; now you would make me say, as appears by your Reply, that implicit faith is sufficient in relation to all points of faith whatsoever, as if I held it not necessary to believe any thing at all explicitly ; for you press me thus, *they must live in unity of the faith, that is either with faith, or without it ; with a belief of what God hath revealed, or without it* ; which inference you could never urge against me, if you had supposed me to hold that some explicite faith is alwayes necessary to salvation, in such as are capable of actual belief ; for whilst they have explicite faith of some Articles, they can never be thought to be without faith ; nor could you with reason, draw any such consequence from my speaking in this distributive sense, both because it is the ordinary sense of the Schools, where an explicite faith of some Articles is held necessary to salvation, and because my Answer connaturally admits of that sense. And lastly because, though the words precisely in themselves were capable of your ascribed sense, yet when words are of a doubtful meaning, no man with reason can bind his words to one determinate sense, but must leave the determination to him who framed the proposition. 10. But now let us try a while what will follow from your Doctrine of Implicit faith,

Faith, as that term is ordinarily understood by us, *To believe any point in our ordinary sense (say you) is not to believe it*; now our ordinary sense (as I have declared) is so to believe that point, that we have no distinct or expresse knowledge of it; but onely a confused understanding, because it is contained *in confuso*, under this Proposition; I believe all that God has revealed, or I believe all that is delivered to be believed in Canonical Scripture; Let us therefore settle this Assertion out of your Doctrine, whosoever believes all that God has revealed, or all that is in canonical Scripture, believes no one particular point contained confusedly in those Propositions, which he understands not with an actual understanding in particular to be revealed, farther then as contained in those Propositions, this is your Doctrine; now I subsume, But no man knoweth all that God hath revealed; to wit, with that actual understanding of every particular, required by you immediately before, as is above explicated, this *minor* is yours; *Ergo* say I, no man believes all that God hath revealed; now I proceed, if no man believe all that God has revealed, then you believe not all that God has revealed, this is evident; then further, whosoever believes not all that God has revealed, is no good Christian, nor in state of Salvation; But you believe not all that God has revealed; *Ergo* you are no good Christian, nor in state of Salvation. See you not how fair a thred you have spun against your self; or will you say that he who believes not all which God hath revealed is a good Christian, if you will you may; but sure if you doe so, no good Christian will believe you: and that you may see how far you are out, in asserting this, that one cannot truly believe what he understands not actually, and in particular, or no farther then as the particulars are
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contained in that universal proposition, *I believe all that God has revealed, or that is in Scripture*; when you recite the *Nicene Creed*, wherein you professe to believe, that God is creator of *all things visible and invisible*. I demand, do you truly believe as you professe to believe, when you say those words; if you do not, you make a profession against your own Conscience; if you do, then you may believe with an actual Belief, that he is Creator of many particular things both visible and invisible, whereof you have no actual understanding; or which are wholly unknown in particular, or distinctly to you, or by any other knowledge, then as confusedly contained in the word *all*; you recite the *Athanasian Creed*, and there professe to believe, that *all men shall rise at the last coming of Christ, and give an account of their works*; and yet you have no actual knowledge of many thousands and millions of them: The like is of *St. Paul*, when he tells us all men are to stand before the Tribunal of Christ, &c. shall we say that *St. Paul* believed not as he professed to believe, *Acts 24. 5, 14. Credens omnibus, quæ in Lege & Prophetis scripta sunt*; yet cannot we suppose that he had then an actual understanding of every particular contained in them. 11. And that you may see by instances how untrue your Assertion is, a Christian I suppose has by vincible or culpable oblivion forgot some grievous Sinne of his Life past, he comes to the point of Death, he is heartily sorrowfull, even for the pure love of God, for all his sinnes committed against the Law of God without any actual remembrance or understanding of that forgotten sin, and so dyes; must not one say in your Principle, that such a Penitent had no actual sorrow for that forgotten sin implicitly, because he had no actual understanding of it; what

what horrid Doctrine would this be ; the like is of one who forgives from his heart all Injuries done against him, but has no actual Remembrance of some of them ; does he not therefore actually forgive even those which he has forgotten ; a thousand like Examples might be brought , which I leave to your learned consideration , having been something with the longest in this Point, because I know it imports much to make a true understanding betwixt us : 12. why are you so wavering and inconstant in your Propositions ; first you say , *that few or none have an actual understanding or belief of all that ever God revealed to them* ; and within three or four lines you say absolutely and without all exception , *no man knoweth all that God hath revealed* : first you say *all men*, (*or most at least*) *have been sinfully negligent in searching after and receiving truth* ; and within a Line or two you leave out your Restriction, and say , *no man knoweth all that God hath revealed, or that he ought to know*. 13. I would know the reason why you first suppose your principle , that no man can believe all unless he actually knows all ; and thence inferre against me, that in my Principles , who deny that of yours , I cannot know who is, who is not of my Church, because I cannot know what Reasons any particular have had to know more, or fewer divine Truths, or whether they have concurred with those Reasons or no, and so must make my Church invisible ; now I make my Church visible , though by comprehending in it all those who profess an Explicite Faith in several Articles, which they understand distinctly, and an implicite Belief of the rest , whereof they have not distinct understanding ; by professing that they believe all that God hath revealed to be believed by them , whatsoever they be in particular ; now so long as they persevere in
this

this behalf, though they should happen through culpable negligence not arrive to the knowledge of many things which they ought to know *necessitati precepti*, yet they remain members (though corrupt and wicked) of the Church, 'whereby you see how easily I avoid that difficulty which you thought I could not.

Mr. Baxter.

The second sort of implicate belief is no belief of the particulars at all, an Animal may live, and yet it followeth not that you are alive or an Animal.

William Johnson.

How impossibly dispute you here? your instance is from the matter; for when you say, *omne Animal vivit*, every sensible creature lives, it must have this sense, that it lives only so long as it is, and as it continues Animal or a sensible Creature; for otherwise you would have it to be, when it is not, and to live when it is dead; now understanding the proposition thus, whosoever believes *omne Animal vivit*, believes me to be a sensible creature, so long as I am in being, and to live before my Death, nay you seem not to reflect upon the sense of such propositions; for they relate not to the proposition by chance, in relation to particular *individua*, but to the Essence of the subject whereof they predicate; for when Philosophers say, *omne Animal vivit*, they mean it is of the Essence or notion of Animal to be a living thing, and this is true of me and all particulars, whether we be in actual existency or no; nay you bring an instance of a particular to confirm an universal; your Question was of *omne Animal*, all sensible

fible creatours, as appears above, and of all that God has revealed, and to confirm your assertion in this, you being a particular, an *individuum vagum*, saying *an Animal* may live, &c. that is some particular Animal; nor stay you here, but to amend the matter, you bring an instance of changeable things, to confirm a proof of things unchangeable; I, who now am, may cease to be in actual existencie; but whatsoever is once revealed from God, can never cease to be revealed, or become a thing unrevealed; though therefore it follows not, that because *omne Animal vivit*, therefore I live actually; yet it follows, that whatsoever is once revealed of God, remains alwaies actually revealed.

Mr. Baxter.

If this were your meaning, then either you mean (that it is enough if all be believed implicitly besides that general proposition) or you mean that some things must be believed explicitly, that is, actually, and some implicitly, (that is not at all.)

Rejoinder.

I have told you something more must be believed explicitly; how much, or what is a dispute amongst Divines, not necessary to be determined here, yet I will speak something to that presently.

Reply.

If the former be your sense, then Infidels or heathens may be of your Church, for a man may believe in general (that the Bible is the word of God and true) and yet

yet not know a word that is in it, and so not know that Christ is the Messiah, or that ever there was such a Person.

Rejoynder.

Your instance is morally impossible, for either such a person believes the Bible rashly and imprudently, and then (according to all Divines) his faith cannot be supernatural and Divine, or sufficient to constitute him a Christian; or he believes it prudently, and then he must be moved by prudential motives of credibility, which must draw him to afford credit to that Authority as derived from God, which commends to him the Bible, as the written word of God; now that can be no other then the Authority of the Catholick Church, which he cannot be ignorant, to profess the faith of Christ, there being no other save that; though therefore he knows not by experience that Christ is mentioned in the Bible, yet he cannot but know that he is professed to be the Son of God, and Saviour of the world, by those of the Catholick Church, (who delivered the Bible to him, as the word of God) and that such a faith in him is necessary to salvation.

Reply.

But if somewhat be explicitly (that is actually) believed, the question that you would have answered was, (what is it ?) for till that be known, no man can know a member of your Church by your descriptions.

Rejoynder.

There was no necessity to tell you that; for when you
so

so often distinguish betwixt points of faith *Essential* and accidental, seeing you ought to understand the terms of your own distinction, as I could not but suppose you did, you had no need to be informed what points were to be believed by *explicite* faith ; all *Essentials* in your opinion are such.

Reply.

If you take (implicite) in the third sense, then implicite faith is either Divine or humane ; Divine, when the Divine veracity is the formal object ; humane, when mans veracity is the formal object, which may be conjunct, where the Testimonies are so conjunct ; as that we are sure that it is God that speaks by man, who is therefore credible, because God infallibly guideth or inspireth him : this is at once to believe a humane and Divine veracity. If any of this be your meaning, that last question remains still to be resolved by you. A man may believe (that God is true) and that his Prophets and inspired messengers are true, and yet not understand a word of the message ; so that still if this will serve, a man may be of your Church, that knoweth not that ever there was such a person as Jesus Christ, or that ever he died for our sins, or rose again, or that we shall rise.

William Johnson.

Your third member I have rejected before, as a stranger to *implicite* faith ; but I think you speak not true Divinity when you say, that to believe God to be true, and his inspired Prophets to speak truth, is to believe a humane and Divine veracity ; for what Divine ever said before you, that Christian faith, which is to

believe God speaking by the Prophets, &c. is to believe so much, as partially a humaine veracity : for that would make Christian faith partly humaine, which no Christian can affirm, it being a pure Theological virtue; and having no other formal object, save Divine veracity revealing: for though the Prophet be a humane person, yet he speaks when he is inspired by God, not with humane, but with Divine authority, God speaking by his mouth.

Mr. Baxter.

And are all Infidels of your Church while you are arguing us out, but if there be some truths besides the veracity of God (and his messengers) that must be believed ; you must shew what it is, or your Church members cannot be known, tell me Ergo without tergiversation (what are the revealed truths that must be actually believed,) or what is the Faith material in unity, whereof all members of the Catholique Church do live.

William Johnson.

Tell me what points of Faith you account Essential to make a Christian precisely, (which is part of your own distinction) and you will save me the labour of telling you, what points are to be believed explicitly, if you know not that, you delivered a distinction which you understood not.

Mr. Baxter.

I pray fly not, but plainly tell me : and if again you fly

fly to uncertain points, because of the diversity of means of informations; and say it must be so much every man as he had means to know, I again answer you. First If a man had no means to know that there is a Christ, it seemes then he is one of your Church. Secondly, you still damn all your own, there being not a man that knoweth all that he hath meanes to know, because all have culpably neglected meanes: and so you have no Church. Thirdly, still you make your Church invisible (if you had any) for no man can tell, as I said, who knoweth in full proportion to his helps and meanes; do you not see now whether your Implicite Faith hath brought you.

William Johnson.

Truly (Sir) your demand is not so great a Bug-bear, to make me fly from it, for fear it devour me: you cannot but know in your perusal of our Divines that your question has bin answered by them an hundred times over, have you not heard them deliver in *materia de fide*, that trite distinction: that some points of faith are necessary to be believed explicitly, *necessitate medii*, and others, *necessitate praecepti*, and those of the first classe are absolutely necessary for all men, to be so believed, to obtain salvation, and to become parts (at least in *voto* if they be not baptized of the Catholique Church,) and know you not that Divines are divided what are the points necessary to be believed explicitly, *necessitate medii*, some, and thoe the more ancient hold that the explicte belief of God, of the whole Trinity, of Christ, his passion, resurrection, &c. are necessary, *necessitate medii*, others amongst the recentions that no more then the belief of the Deity, and that he is rewarder of our workes, is absolutely necessary with

that necessarily, to be explicitly believed ; now to answer your question, what it is whereby our Church members are known, I answer that. First, all those who are baptised and believe all the points of our faith explicitly, (if any such persons be to be found) are undoubted members of our Church. Secondly, all those who believe explicitly all the Articles, and whatsoever belongs to them in particular, by reason of their respective offices in the Church. Thirdly, those who so believe all things necessary, *necessitate medii*, or *necessitate precepti*, extended to all *adulti*. Fourthly, all those who believe in that manner, all things held necessary : *necessitate medii*, according to the first opinion of the more ancient Doctors. Fifthly, It is probable, though not altogether so certain as the former, that such as believe explicitly the Diety : and that he is a rewarder of our works, and the rest implicitly, as contained in *confesso* in that (Baptisme supposed) are parts of the Catholique Church (now seeing all those who are contained in my four first numbers (which comprehend almost all Christians) are certainly parts of the Catholique Church, we have a sufficient certainty of a determinate Church, consisting at least of these, by reason whereof our Church has a visible consistency : these of the fifth rank though not so certain as the former, take not away the certainty of the former, but that consistency supposed, Divines found a question amongst themselves, those of the first opinion will answer that such as believe not the aforesaid Christian mysteries expressly are not parts of the Catholick Christian Church, though they believe the Deity remunerating, and the rest implicitly : see you not by this discourse that we answer sufficiently to your questions, by telling which are undoubted members of our Church, and thereby
give

give a sufficient description of it ; (and rendering it visible) by assigning those which are undoubted members of it, though in some others, without which it hath consistency , be controverted amongst us : in this discourse I suppose , that such as only believe the Diety , or some few of our misteries , are excused by invisible ignorance from the obligation of knowing the rest, for if their ignorance be vincible, culpable, and willfull, it will indanger at least their implicite faith : would not a Philosopher give a sufficient discription of a humane living body by defining it to consist undoubtfully of head, shoulders, armes , &c. which are the known parts of it , though there be a doubt amongst Philosophers , whether the nailes, humors &c. be animated and parts of it : here therefore you may consider, that we all agree in these parts which give a real visible constitution to our Church, though some question be amongst us about the Exclusion or Admittance of some few , which whether they be admitted or no , our Church remains by-reason of the former in a real visible Existency ; and by this are Answered your three ensuing Numbers.

Mr: Baxter.

Quest. Is it any Lawfull Pastours , or all that must necessarily be depended on by every member , and who are those Pastours ?

William Johnson.

Ans. Of all respectively to each subject ; that is, that the Authority of none of them mediate or immediate be rejected or contemned.

Mr. Baxter.

Here still you tell me, that your descriptions signified nothing ; you told me that the members must live in dependance on their lawfull Pastours ; and now you tell me that their Authority must not be Rejected or contemned : and indeed is dependance and non-Rejection all one ? The millions of heathens that never heard of the Pope or any of your Pastours , reject them not , nor contemn them ; are they therefore fit matter for your Church ? 2. If you say that you mean it of such onely as have a sufficient Revelation of the Authority of these Pastours,

Rejoynder.

You mistake me , I speak of a Rejection and contempt of a subject (as appears by my words) and your Reply mentions the independance without Rejection of such as are no subjects ; now the Rejection or contempt of Superiours Authority in a Subject, takes away this dependance of that Superiour ; and his very working independently of them cannot be done without Rejection and contempt of their Authority , so long as he remains a subject ; I pray minde a little better to what you Reply.

Reply.

I further Reply, 1. It seems then it is not onely the Pope, but every Priest respectively ; that is an essential member of your Church, or to whom each member must be subject necessarily ad esse : If so then in every
man

man that by falling out or prejudice, doth culpably Reject the Authority of any one Pastour or Priest among a swarm, is damned, or none of the Church though he believe in the Pope and twenty thousand Priests besides. 2. And then have we not cause to pray God to blesse us from the company of your Priests; or at least that we may not have too many among a multitude, we may be in danger of Rejecting some one; and then we are cast out of that Church; what if a Gentleman should find some such as Watson or Montaltus described in bed with his wife; or a Prince finde a Garnet, a Campian, or a Parsons in Treason, and by such temptation should be so weak as to contemn or reject the Authority of that single Priest, while he obeyeth all the rest: It is certain that such a man is none of the Catholique Church for that; how hard it is in France & Italy then to be a Catholick, where Priests are so numerous, that it's ten to one but among that croud the Authority of some one may be Rejected: 3. But is it all the Priests that we never knew or knew not to be Priests, that we must depend on? or is it onely those whose Authority is manifested to us by sufficient Evidence; doubtless if you will confine our dependancee to these onely (or else no man could be a Christian.) And if so be you know we are never the nearer a Resolution for your Answer, till you yet tell us how we must know our Pastours to have Authority indeed.

William Johnson.

Sir you mistake again, I speak onely of all Respectively to each subject; that is of such as are properly the Pastours of such soules mediate or immediate; and you wave the consideration of the word Respectively, and
 b 4 thereby

thereby would extend my words to all Priests in the whole Church ; know you not the difference betwixt Pastours, and Priests ? are there not millions of Priests amongst us, and a number of Ministers amongst you, which are no Pastours, that is , have no care or cure of souls committed to them : my Assertion therefore is , that a private christian rejecting the authority of his Parish-Priest , Bishop , Arch-bishop, Metropolitane, Primate, Patriarch or supream Bishop : who are (in some cases at least his Pastour ,) becomes a Schismatick, & casts himself out of the Church : now for all the rest who are not his proper Pastours, though they may be Pastours to others, his rejecting or containing them, will be a greivous sin of pride : but not sufficient alone to cast men out of the Church, because he remains still dependent of his own Pastours, and here falls to ground all your ensuing discourse of the multitude of Priests, &c. Where I will not take notice of an accusation made without proof, and relishing too little of Christian charity, against some particular persons, humbly beseeching God to forgive you for it, and hoping so to temper my expressions, that they still run peaceably on within the bank of Charity.

Mr Baxter.

What if they shew me the Bishops orders, and I know that many have had forged orders : am I bound to believe in this authority ?

William Johnson.

As much as you can be assured of any being Pastour of such a Church, or Bishop of such a Diocese, or
Justice

Justice of peace, or Earle, or Baron, by his Majesties Patents for publick orders.

Reply.

What if I be utterly ignorant whether he that ordained were himself ordained, per intentionem ordinandi: how shall I then be sure of his authority, that he is ordained.

Rejoynder.

As sure as you can be, that you were the lawful child of your Father and Mother, who could not be truly married without intention of being Husband and Wife, one to the other? how know you that they had such an intention, solve this, and you solve your own argument.

Mr Baxter.

And how can the People be acquainted with the passages in Election and ordination, that are necessary to the knowledge of their authority, especially of the Popes and Prelates, and what if you tell me your own opinion of the sufficient meanes by which I must be convicted of the Popes and the Priests authority.

William Iohnson.

When it is publicly allowed in the Church, witnessed to be performed according to the Canonical prescription by such as were present, and derived to the people without contradiction by publick fame.

Bax-

Mr Baxter.

How shall I know that you are not deceived, and that these are the sufficient meanes indeed, unless a general Council have defined them to be sufficient, and if they have, If it were not as an Article of Faith: you will say I am not bound of necessity to believe their definition.

William Johnson.

The orders prescribed in the canon law, and universally received, are sufficient for this: without decrees of General Councils, for these are no points of faith, but of order and discipline, whereof a moral certainty and ecclesiastical authority is sufficient.

Mr. Baxter.

And what if I have sufficient meanes to know the Authority of a thousand Bishops, but am culpably ignorant of some few, through my neglect, doth it follow that I am out of the Church, Is my obedience to each Priest as necessary as my belief of every Article? or multiplying Priests doth fill Hell faster, If men must be judged by your laws?

Rejoynder.

This is grounded in your former mistake, and solved above, it is not all Priests, but all Pastours in relation to their flocks, that I speak of.

Baxter

Mr. Baxter.

But is it our allegiance to our Sovereign that is the character of a subject in the common weakb, and not our allegiance, or duty to every inferiour Magistrate? the rejection of one of them, may stand with subjection, though not with innoceny; It is not reason to reject a Constable, why then should it more be necessary to our Church membership and Salvation, But still you make your Church invisible: for as no man can know that liveth in the remote parts of the world, whether your Popes^{es} themselves are truly Popes, as being duly qualified and elected, now which is that true Pope, when you have often more then one at once, so you can never know concerning your members, whether their dependance on their Pastors be extensively proportionate to the meanes that discovers their Authority, and whether their disobedience unchurch them or not.

Rejoynder.

But if you reject the Constable, and with him all superiour Magistrates, who maintain his Authoritie, and come at last so far that you reject the Authority of the supreme or Sovereign power, rather then depend on the Constable you will become a Rebel; this is my case, for the Church being visible, is governed in this world by visible governours; if therefore one Reject the Authority first of a parish Priest, and then of the Bishop of the Diocesse, and after of all those who are Superiour to that Bishop even to the highest authority (whether this be in one single person, or in the assembly of these Pastours in general Council, imports little for

for the present question) he becomes a Rebell to the visible Church, and casts himself out of it ; and by consequence, because our Saviour hath said, he who heareth you heareth me) and he who contemneth you contemneth me, rejects also Christ's Authority by rejecting them, and thereby casts himself from being any longer (whilst he remains in that contempt) of the Flock, and Kingdome of Christ, which is his Church : For this contempt must be the same kind in respect of Christ, that it is in regard of all the aforesaid visible Governours, and therefore must reject the Authority of Christ, because it rejects their Authority ; but none of those who reject Christ's Authority over them can be parts of his Flock or Kingdome ; *Ergo* note the fallacie of your Assertion in making many Hereticks and Schismaticks properly so called, Real parts of the Catholick Church.

Reply.

I earnestly crave your Answer to the uncertainties which I have mentioned in my Safe Religion, pag. 9, 3. to 104. and tell us how all our Pastours may be known, and whether every particular sin un-Church men, and if not, why the contempt and rejection of a drunken Priest doth it, while all the rest are perhaps too much honoured.

Rejoynder.

Really, Sir, I am too full of employments, either to Answer or peruse your Books, I never oblig'd my self to answer them. You make a visible Body with an invisible Head ; that is, you admit no other head or supreme Ecclesiastical Magistrate over the visible Church save Christ ; who is invisible to the Church, as he is head

head of it, and whose government is internal and invisible, if you abstract from all visible supreme Authority, and hence you assert that though all the Respective visible governours in spiritual things be rejected by a subject, yet he may be a part of the visible Church; because he is still subject to Christ, who is invisible to to him in his Head-ship: I suppose I have said enough above to what you demand here, and take those Arguments in your safe Religion to be much of the same nature with these.

Mr. Baxter.

Qu. 4. *Why exclude you the chief Pastours that depend on none.*

William Johnson.

Ans. I exclude them not, but include them, as those of whom all the rest depend, as St. Jerome does in his definition, *Ecclesia est plebs Episcopo unita.*

Mr. Baxter.

How inconstant are you among your selves in the use of Terms? how frequent is it with you, to appropriate the name of (the Church) to the Clergie; but remember hereafter when you tell us of the Determinations & Traditions of the Church, that it is the people that you mean, and not onely the Pastours in Council, much lesse the Pope alone.

Rejoynder.

This Requires no Answer, as opposing nothing against what I say to that Question; who knowes not that

that Termes have different acceptions both amongst you and us, both in Scripture, Ecclesiastical and Civil Authors,

Of HERESIE.

Heresie is an obstinate intellectual Opposition against Divine Authority revealed when it is sufficiently propounded.

Mr. Baxter.

Qu. 1. *Is the obstinacie that makes Heresie, in that Intellectual Will.*

William Johnson.

Ans. In the will by an imperate act restraining the understanding to that.

Mr. Baxter.

Still your descriptions signifie just nothing, you describe it to be an Intellectual obstinate opposition, and yet say that this is in the will.

William Johnson.

You still Reply lesse then nothing to what I say; yes, it is an intellectual obstinate opposition; but I say not that the intellectuallie is in the will, or do you demand that; Read I pray my description and your question, and you will find no such matter; I say the obstinacy is in the will directly to your question, but the heresie is in the understanding, and therefore comes it to be an intellectual obstinate opposition; because that obstinacie in the will, imperates a kind of immobility in the understanding, whereby it adheres firmly to it's Error. Intellectual therefore it is from the understanding, and obstinate from the will.

Mr. Baxter.

Mr. Baxter.

And yet again you contradict your self by saying, that it is an Imperate act.

William Johnson.

Where say I, that *imperate act* is in the will? prove from my words I say so, I say indeed that *obstinacy* is in the will, by an *imperate* restraining the understanding to that Error; but I never said, that *imperate act* was in the will: nay, I insinuate sufficiently that it is in the understanding by affirming, that it restrains the understanding, for the *imperate act* is a kind of immovable judgement imperated in the understanding by the obstinacy of the will; all therefore that I say is this, that there is an obstinacy in the will, shewing it self to be there, by that immobility which it imperates in the understanding, and adheres to that error; when therefore I say by that *imperate act*, I mean not formally by that, but causally.

Reply.

No imperate act is in the will, though it be from the will, it is voluntary, but not in volente; an imperate act may be in the will, but not an imperate; all imperate acts are in (and immediately by) the commanded faculties. The Intelligere, which is the imperate act, is in the intellect, though the velle intelligere, which is an elicit act, be in the will.

Rejoyn-

Rejoynder.

You seem to discourse very strangely, and inconsequently of imperate acts; what Philosopher, before you ever said, *no imperate act is in the will, though it be from the will*, shew your Authours for this; is not the quite contrary the common assertion of the schools, does not the will by an imperant act of charity, e. g. imperate within it self an act of obedience, contrition, patience, &c. Nay, do not many Philosophers from hence argue, that the will and the understanding must be one and the same soul, and not two powers really distinct, because the will imperates acts in the understanding; not by way of production or proper efficiency, but by a certain Sympathetical emanation of an act imperated, from the act imperating.

Mr. Baxter.

2. *From hence it is plain, that you cannot prove me or any man to be an Heretick, that is unfeignedly willing to know the truth, and is not obstinately willing in opposing it, which are things you cannot ordinarily discern and prove by others, that are ready to be sworn that they would fain know the truth.*

William Johnson.

We enter not into the heart of any particular person, that we leave to God; onely the Church presumes such to be Hereticks, as have Catholick truths sufficiently propounded to them, and that notwithstanding contradict and oppose them; and let such be ready to swear
what

what they please, she has more reason to think that proceeds out of a blind zeal to their own opinion than that they are not to be presumed Hereticks, by their open profession of heretical opinions.

Q^{ui}. 2. Must it needs be against the formal object of faith? is he no Heretick that denieth the matter revealed, without opposing obstinately the Authority revealing.

William Johnson.

Ans^w. Yes; nor is he a formal, but onely a material Heretick, who opposes a revealed truth, which is not sufficiently propounded to him to be a Divine Revelation.

Mr. Baxter.

Every man that believeth there is a God indeed, believeth that he is true; (for if he be not true he is not God) if therefore no man be formally an Heretick that doth not obstinately oppose the veracity of God, which is in the formal object; then as there are, I hope, but few Hereticks in the world, so those few cannot by ordinary means be known to you, unless they will say that they take God to be a lyer: so that you make none Hereticks indeed, but Atheists.

William Johnson.

There is a twofold denying of God, the one formal and direct, the other virtual and indirect; Atheists are guilty of the first, and Hereticks of the second, which solves your difficulty. This I oblige my self to prove,
c
when

when occasion shall require it in our Larger Controversie. For the present it is sufficient to tell you, that whosoever obstinately contradicts any truth revealed from God, as all Hereticks do some or other of them, they sinfully and wilfully affirm, that what God has revealed is not true ; and consequently that God is a lyer, and by that destroy, as much as in them lies, the very essence of God, though their obstinacy and pride will not suffer them to acknowledge it ; now since you confesse here, that what the Hereticks deny is the *thing revealed*, and the revelation is from God, you cannot deny, that Hereticks make God a lyer, and thereby take away the veracity or truth of God.

Mr. Baxter.

What if a man deny that there is a Christ, a Heaven, a Hell, a Resurrection, and also deny the Revelation it self, by which he should discern these truths, and yet deny not that veracity of God (no nor the Church) is this no Heretick ? I would your party that have murdered so many Hereticks (if a falsehood may be wished as a thing permitted to have prevented such a mischief) it is not God's veracity that is commonly denied by Hereticks, but the thing revealed, and the Revelation of that thing.

William Johnson.

If they be not sufficiently propounded to him as revealed from God, he will be onely a material Heretick; if propounded sufficiently as such, the case is implicative, for that proposition must be made by the Church; to long therefore as he believes the infallible veracity of the

the Church propounding, he cannot disbelieve what it propounds sufficiently to him to be believed as revealed from God.

Mr. Baxter.

And your Turnbal against Bartonus hath told you, that the revelation is no part of the formal object of faith, but as it were the copula, or a condition, sine qua non. If he that obstinately refuseth to believe that the Godhead of Christ, or the holy Ghost, is any where by God revealed, and so denieth it, be no Heretick unlesse he also obstinately deny or resist the veracity of God, then there are few that you can prove Hereticks (for forma dat nomen) and he that is not an Heretick formally, but materially onely, is no Heretick at all.

William Johnson.

Turnballs saying touches not me, nor the present difficulty; an Heretick (as we now treat) denies not onely the thing to be revealed, but the thing or Mystry it self to be true; now supposing that it be sufficiently propounded to him that God reveals it, he denying the thing it self to be true, denies that to be true which he hath sufficient reason to judge, by that proposition made to him, to be revealed of God; but whosoever denies that, denies virtually Gods veracity, by denying the truth of that which God has revealed, and which he hath obligation to believe to be revealed from God: *Ergo.*

Mr. Baxter.

Lastly, many a truth is sinfully neglected by the mem-
c 2
bers

bers of the Church, that have a proposal sufficient, and yet not effectual, through their own faults, and yet they are no Hereticks; millions in your Church are ignorant of truths sufficiently proposed, and their ignorance is their sin, but it followeth not that it is their Heresie; but if it be, then Hereticks constitute your Church, and then your Church is a thing unknown, because the Hereticks cannot be known, the sufficiency of each mans revelation being much unknown to others.

William Johnson.

Whatsoever their neglect be to know what is propounded, yet so long as they believe explicitly what is necessary to be so believed, *necessitate mediis*, (*ut supra*) and implicitly the rest, they can be no Hereticks; For it is not the ignorance, though culpable, but the contradiction of what is sufficiently propounded to them, and known to them to be propounded by those who have power to oblige them, as being their lawfull Superiours, which makes an Heretick.

Mr. Baxter.

Qⁿ. 2. *What mean you by sufficient proposal.*

William Johnson.

Ans^r. Such a proposition as is sufficient in *humanis*, amongst men, to oblige one to take notice that a King, or Magistrate, have enacted such and such Laws, &c. that is a Publick Testimony that such things are revealed by the infallible Authority of those who are the highest Tribunal of Gods Church, or by notorious and universal Tradition.

Mr. Bax-

Mr. Baxter.

In humanis, there lieth not so much at stake as a mans salvation; and man is not able as used to make a truly sufficient revelation of his will to all; and therefore the proportion holds not.

William Johnson.

Imports it not often to salvation, to know some Laws of the Commonwealth wherein you live? would you have God declare by revelation, who are the ordinary Governours of his Church? is not this to have constituted a visible Government imprudently, whose Governours cannot be sufficiently known but by revelation? therefore the proportion holds.

Mr. Baxter.

2. But if it did, either you think the sufficiency varieth according to the variety of advantages, opportunities, and capacities of the persons, or else that it consisteth onely in the act of common publication, and so is the same to all the subjects; if the first be your sense (as I suppose it is) then still you are uncertain who are Hereticks, as being uncertain of mens various capacities, and so of the sufficiency in question, unlesse you will conclude (with me) that thus you make all Hereticks as aforesaid, because all men living are culpably ignorant of some truths which they had a revelation of, that was thus farre sufficient: if the second be your sense, then the same unhappy consequence will follow, (that all are Hereticks) and moreover, by that sense of obscure

education, are unavoidable Hereticks, because they had no opportunity to know those things, which, as to that Majority, are of publick Testimony, and universal Tradition.

William Johnson.

I tell you I judge of no mens conscience, it is sufficient: 1. That such as acknowledge themselves they know such points of faith to be propounded by the Roman Church, (which I infallibly believe to be the true Church) and that notwithstanding reject them as errors, give me ground to presume them to be Hereticks. 2. Such as oppose what all visible Churches have most notoriously practised, and believed as Divine truths, whilst they were so universally taught, and practised, I may safely presume to be Hereticks, because things so notorious cannot morally be presumed to be unknown to any one; for other particulars, I may and do suspend my judgement, for what obligation have I to know all the Hereticks in the world, these Rules being a sufficient judge of the greatest part of them. See you not your fallacy, how you passe *ab abstracto, in concretum*. Our question was onely what *Heretic* is, and you divert it, to inquire which particular persons are Hereticks: cannot definitions stand, though we know not all the individuals which are reducible to them.

Mr. Baxter.

*Is not the Bible a publick Testimony and record, and being universally received, is an universal Tradition, and yet abundance of truths in the holy Bible are unknown (and therefore not actually believed) by millions
that*

that are in your Church, and are not taken by yourself for Hereticks, your befriending ignorance would else make very many Hereticks.

Rejoynder.

What if the Bible be a publick Tradition, it is one-ly a Tradition, that whatsoever is there delivered is the word of God ; but it is no Tradition, that such a determinate sense, and no other, is the word of God in every sentence contained in it, when according to the Analogie of faith the words are capable of many senses ; all therefore that is an universal Tradition concerning the Bible, is sufficiently propounded ; but what is not Tradition left to the severall Discourses and Expositions of Doctours ? will it hence follow think you, that because what is not an universal Tradition is not sufficiently propounded to be known, *Ergo*, what is universal Tradition also is not ?

Pope.

By Pope I mean *S. Peter*, or any of his lawfull Successours in the Sea of *Rome*, having authority by the institution of Christ to govern all particular Churches, next under Christ.

Of the Pope. Mr. Baxter.

I am never the nearer knowing the Pope by this, till I know how Peters Successours may be known to me.

Qu. 1. *What personal qualification is necessary ad esse.*

William Iohnson.

Aufw. Such as are necessary *ad esse*, of other Bishops which I suppose you know.

Mr. Baxter.

If so, then all these were no Popes, that were Heretiques: or denied Essential points of Faith.

William Iohnson.

'Tis true they were no Popes, whilst formal Heretiques: if any such were. *Baxter. As Iohn 24. Iohnson* prove that. *Baxter. And so were no Christians. Iohnson.* Prove that. *Baxter. All those that wanted the necessary abilities, to the Essentials of their work. Iohnson.* Prove there were such Popes.

Mr. Baxter.

And so your Church hath often bin headless, and your succession interrupted? Councils having censured many Popes to be thus qualified.

William Iohnson.

When you have proved the precedents, prove that.

Mr. Baxter.

And the dispositio materiæ, being of it self necessary to the reception of that form: it must needs follow, that such were no Popes, even before the Councils charged them

them with incapacity, or Heresie, because they had it before they were accused of it, and Simony then made many incapable.

William Johnson.

Prove they were lawfull Councils which so censured any Popes which we admit as true and lawfull.

Mr. Baxter.

Q^{1,2}. *Where and how must the Institution of Christ be found?*

William Johnson.

Ans. In the revealed Word of God, written or unwritten.

Mr. Baxter.

You never gave the World assurance, how they may truly know the measure of your unwritten Word, nor where to finde it, so as to know what it is.

William Johnson.

We say we have.

Mr. Baxter.

2. *Till you prove Christ's Institution (which you have never done;*

William Johnson.

That is to be done in our Controversie,

Mr. Baxter.

You free us from believing in the Pope.

William Johnson.

All are free from believing in the Pope, we believe in
God,

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William Johnson.

All are free from believing in the Pope, we believe in God,

God, but not in the Pope ; who of us ever obliged you you to do so ?

Mr. Baxter.

Q^U. 3. *Will anyones Election prove him to be Pope ? or who must Elect him ad esse.*

William Johnson.

Ans. Such as by approved custome are esteemed by those by to whom it belongs, fit for that Charge ; and with whose Election the Church is satisfied.

Reply.

Here you are fain to hide your self, instead of Answering, and shew indeed that a Pope (that's made an Essential part of the Church, subjection to whom is made of necessity to salvation) is indeed but a meer name, or a thing unknown, and so can certainly be believed or acknowledged by none. For either Election in him (by somebody) is necessary or not ; If not, then you or another man unchosen may be Pope, for ought I know, or any man else ; if yea, then it is either anybodys Election of him that will serve turn or not ; if it will, then you may be Popes, if your Schollars chuse you, and then you have had three Popes at once, for many were Elected ; but if it be not, then it must be known who hath the Power of Election before it can be known who is indeed the Pope, but you are forced here by your Answer to intimate to us, that the Power of Election cannot be known, & therefore the Pope cannot be known ; for 1. Here are no Determinate Electours mentioned, and therefore it seems none known to you, and no wonder, for if you confine it to the People, or to the
Cardi-

Cardinals, or to the Emperours, or to the Councils, you cut off all your Popes that were Chosen by the other wayes : 2. Nor do you Determine of any particular discernable note by which the Electours and power of Election may be known to that Church; but all these patches make up your description : 1. it must be those that are esteemed fit for the Charge : 2. that by those to whom it belongs : 3. and that by Custome : 4. and that approved : 5. and the Church must be satisfied with the Election : a miserable body then, that hath been so often headlesse, as Rome hath been, 1. well esteeming them fit to serve turn, though they be unfit; then it is not the fittnesse that is necessary, but the Estimation (true or false;) 2. but why did you not tell us to whom it is that it belongs to esteem the Choosers fit; here you were at a streight : But is not this to say nothing while you pretend to speak, and to hide what you pretend to open; and who knowes what Custome and of what continuance you mean Primitive Custome went one way, and afterward Custome went another way, and latter Custome hath varied from both? and hath the power of Election changed so often? and who is it that must approve this Custome? and what approbation must there be? all these are meer hiding, and no Resolving of the Doubt; and tell us that a Pope is a thing invisible or unknown; 5. and your last assures us, that your Succession was interrupted through many usurpations; yea indeed, that you never had a Pepe, for the Church was unsatisfied with the Election of abundance of your Popes, when whores and Simony, and murder, and power set them up; and most of the Churches through the world is unsatisfied with them still unto this day; and you have no way to know whether the greater part of the Church is satisfied, or not, for non-Resistance is no signe of satisfaction, where
men

men have no opportunity or power to Resist ; and when one part of Europe was for one Pope , and another for another through so many Schisms , who knows which had the approbation of that which may be called the Church?

William Johnson.

What is hidden from your understanding , you take to be hidden in it self , my Answer is Categorick , as it stands conjunctly in my words , and you , mangling them in pieces , have made them obscure , take them as they stand , and I am content ; *in materia subjecta* , to submit them to the censure of any of your learned Divines esteemed Impartial , to judge whether they be not as clear as need to be given in the qualifying of Electours for Elective Princes , or Magistrates , where when Different occasions require , they admit of Different Determinations of Electours , as here it hath hapned : and whether your Exceptions be not pure fallacies , proceeding *a sensu conjuncto* , *ad sensum divisum* , which is indeed as I have marked , too ordinary a fallacie with you ; your 4. Number is a *parergon* . If the Church did really acquiesce in such an Elected person , as Pope ; it was satisfied according to the substance of the Election , which is all I intended , though haply it might be unsatisfied in the circumstances : if the Church never accepted them as Popes , they are not to be accounted Legal Popes , nor in the number of St. Peter's successors , what abuses have hapned in the Election of some Popes , happened most commonly when Lay persons , intruded their power and violence into those Elections , mingling Lay authority with Church Government , which is out of their Sphear ; now this abuse is much consonant with the Doctrine of Protestants , so that those for the most part,

part, who confirm their practice according to Protestants principles, introduc't this abuse into the Popes Election.

Mr. Baxter.

Qu. *Is Consecration necessary, and by whom, ad esse.*

William Johnson.

It is not absolutely necessary *ad esse.*

Mr. Baxter.

If Consecration be not necessary to Papacy, then it is not necessary that this or that man consecrate him more then another; and then it is not necessary to a Bishop, and then the want of it makes no interruption in succession in any Church, any more then in yours.

William Johnson.

Neither Papal nor Episcopal Jurisdiction (as all the Learned know) depends of Episcopal or Papal ordination, nor was there ever Interruptions of Successions in Episcopal Jurisdiction in any Sea ; for the want of that alone, that is necessary for consecrating others validly, and not for Jurisdiction over them.

Mr. Baxter.

Qu. 5. *What notice or proof is necessary to the Subjects.*

Wil-

William Johnson.

Ans. So much as is necessary to oblige Subjects to accept of other Elected Princes to be their Sovereignes.

Mr. Baxter.

When you have answered to the afore mentioned three Doubts we shall know what that General signifieth.

Rejoynder.

I have now answered, and therefore you are satisfied.

B I S H O P.

I mean by Bishop, such a Christian Pastour as hath power & jurisdiction to govern the inferiour Pastours, Clergie, and people within his Diocess, and to confirm and give Holy Orders to such as are subject to him.

Mr. Baxter.

Qu. Do you mean that he must have this power jure Divino, whether mediately or immediately.

William Johnson.

Ans. The Definition abstracts from particulars, and subsists without determining that Question.

Mr. Baxter.

You seem to yield the Papacy is Jure humano, (and Jure of no necessity to salvation) for if man can change the power of Election, and the foundation be humane, it is like that Relation is but his name; and therefore if Bishops must be Jure Divino, they are more excellent and necessary then the Pope.

William Johnson.

Where yielded I that? where said I the Election was *Jure humano*? shew where, that there should be an Election

election of him, by competent electours, is *Jus Divinum*; the Determination, who, *hic & nunc*, are competent, is *Jus Ecclesiasticum*, therefore the Papacy it self is onely *Jure humano*; how follows that? know you not, that neither the electours nor consecratours of him give him Papal Jurisdiction, that is given him from Christ, as *S. Peters Successour*: the election therefore is not the foundation of Papal Authority, but the promise of Christ. Nor are BB. more excellent then Popes, because both are *Jure Divino*? and as the manner of the election in particular may be, and often is changed in the one, so is it in the other.

Mr. Baxter.

2. How grosse a subterfuge is this, either the Bishop in question is a Divine creature or humane; If a Divine, as you may manifest it, or expresse it at least, so you ought, it being no indifferent thing to turn a Divine office and Church into an humane; if he be not Divine, he is not of necessity to a Divine Church, nor to salvation.

Rejoynder.

What mean you by *Divine creature*? who ever spake so but you? the Bishop is a *humane creature*, but his office is Divine Right; will you have all particulars exprest in Definitions? are they to contain more then the abstract notions of *genus*, & *differentia*; the question is not what ought to be exprest in a full Treatise concerning Bishops, but what in a definition ought to be the *Genus* and *differentia* of Bishop. I intended not to make a precise definition neither, but onely to shew

shew you how I take it in my paper, as appears by my words.

Mr Baxter.

And yet thus your R. Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon (ubi supra) confesseth it to be no point of your faith, that the Pope is S. Peters Successor Jure Divino.

William Johnson.

You should have done well to cite the place, for I have no time to seek whole books over, nor should you have drawn consequences upon so large citations of Authors.

Mr. Baxter.

And if you leave it indifferent to be believed or not, that both your Popes and Bishops are Jure Divino, you confesse you are but a humane Policie, and Society, and therefore that no man need to fear the lesse of his salvation by renouncing you.

Williams Johnson.

Who leaves it indifferent? must all things which are not express in Definitions be left indifferent? there is no mention of *Risibile* in the definition of *homo*, do Philosophers therefore leave it indifferent whether *homo* be *Risibilis* or no.

Qu. 4. How shall we know who hath this power, what election, or consecration is necessary thereto? if I know not who hath it I am never the better.

William

William Johnson.

Ans. As you know who hath temporal power by an universal, or most common consent of the people, the election is different according to different times, places, and other circumstances; Episcopal consecration is not absolutely necessary to true Episcopal jurisdiction.

Reply.

How now? are at the Mysteries of your Succession and Mission resolved into popular consent.

William Johnson.

Why how now? what is the matter? who says our Succession and Mission is resolved into popular consent? things use to be resolved into their principles; where have I constituted, popular consent, the principle of election? the first part of the question propounded here by you, was not what election was, of what principle it consisted, but how it should be known, (I pray, if you mark not *my* words, at least reflect upon *your own*) *how shall we know* (say you *who hath this power*, to this I answer directly thus; *as you know who hath temporal power by an universal, or most common consent of the people*. Is there no difference with you, betwixt the Mysteries of our Succession and Mission, and the manner how to know them. The Mysterie of the most blessed Trinity, &c. is known to your Parishoners by your Preaching and Chatechising, is it therefore resolved into your Preaching and Chatechising, resolved I say into its formal object? for that is the question, and the absurdity which you would infer against me.

Mr. Bax-

Mr. Baxter.

Is not one way of election necessary, do you leave that to be varied as a thing indifferent.

William Johnson.

Why should it? it is sufficient that some generalities of it be determined *Jure Divino*; as that it be done by Christians, by such as are capable to know who is a fit person for the Office, choosing freely according to the Laws of God; the further Determinations are left to the Church, according to the different ways of proceeding in different Churches, Nations, Diocesses; what is there to be wondered at in this? have you not this practice among you?

Mr. Baxter.

And is Episcopal consecration also necessary, I pray you here again remember, that none of our Churches are disabled from the plea of a continued Succession for want of Episcopal consecration, or any way of election; if our Pastours have had our peoples consent, they have been true Pastours. But we have more. 2. By this rule we cannot tell of one Bishop of an hundred, whether he be a Bishop or no; for we cannot know whether that he hath the consent of the people, yea, we know that abundance of your Bishops have no such consent.

William Johnson.

No man argues you of the want of Succession in your

your Respective Seas because you want Episcopal consecration, but because you want Episcopal election, confirmation, vocation, Mission, Jurisdiction; for your first Bishops in Queen *Elizabeth's* time (and the same is of your Ministers of Parishes) were intruded by secular power into their Respective Seas and Parishes, the proper Bishops and Pastors of those Churches yet living, and that without legal deposition, or deprivation of them, by their lawfull Superiours, or true election by those Respective *capitula*, who had the present power of electing the Bishops of their Diocesse in such Diocesses as had then no Bishops, or of constituting Parish Priests in such places as wanted them; they had no Jurisdiction but from the Queen and Parliament, as is manifest by the publick Statutes yet extant, cited in *Erasmus Junior*, part. 2. All those who succeeded to those Intruders, can have no more Jurisdiction then they first had; nor had you ever the full consent of the People, for all those of the Roman party, who in the first institution of your *Elizabeth* Bishops, were a great part of the Kingdome, if not the greatest, never elected them, nor was there any such popular election required or admitted in those times.

Mr. Baxter.

Yea, we know that your Popes have none of the consent of the most of the Christians in the world, (nor for ought you or any man knows) of most in Europe.

William Johnson.

Of what Christians? such as you and your Associates are; we regard that no more, then did the Ancient ho-

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William Johnson.

Of what Christians? such as you and your Associates are; we regard that no more, then did the Ancient ho-

ly Popes, not to have had the consent of *Nestorians, Eutichians, Pelagians, Donatists, Arians, &c.*

Mr. Baxter.

It is few of your own party that know who is Pope, (much lesse are called to consent) till after he is settled in possession.

William Johnson.

What then? is not the same in all Elective Princes, where the extent of their Dominions are exceeding large.

Reply.

3. *According to this rule your Successions have been frequently interrupted, when against the will of General Councils, and of the farre greatest part of Christians, your Popes have kept the seat by force.*

Rejoynder.

These are Generalities, what Popes, what Councils in particular, name and prove if you will be answered.

Mr. Baxter.

4. *In temporals your Rule is not universally true; what if the people be engaged to one Prince, and afterward break their vow, and consent to an usurper; though in this case a particular person may be obliged to submission and obedience in judicial administrations, yet*

the Usurper cannot thereby defend his Right, and justify his possession ; nor the people justify their adhesion to him, while they lye under an obligation to disclaim him, because of their preingagement to another, though some part of the truth be found in your Assertion.

William Johnson.

The people cannot be supposed to consent freely, lawfully, and effectually to an usurper ; now I suppose the consent I speak of to be lawfull, for I speak of ordinary causes, and not of what seldome or never happens; for where shall you finde an universal or common consent to a known usurper, acknowledging him to have a temporal power over them ; it is one thing to tolerate, or not resist, and another to consent to his power : now I speak of a free universal consent, where no force or constraint is used.

Mr. Baxter.

Qu. 3. Will any Diocesse suffice ad esse? what if it be but in particular Assemblies.

William Johnson.

It must be more then a Parish, or then one single Congregation which hath not different inferiour Pastours, and one who is their Superiour : for a Bishop when consecrated, as he hath a higher power then single Priests have in acts of Order, so hath he a power over single Pastours in acts of Jurisdiction when he is installed in a Diocels : for he is to govern not onely the people as inferiour Pastours do, but interiour Pastours also.

Mr. Baxter,

This is but your naked affirmation, I have proved the Contrary from Scriptures, Fathers, and Councils in my dispute of Episcopacy, viz. that a Bishop may be (and of old ordinarily was) over the Presbyters onely of one parish or single Congregation, or a people no more numerous than our Parishes, you must show us some Scripture or General Council for the contrary, before we can be sure you here speak truth, was Gregory Thaumaturgus, no Bishop, because when he came first to Neocesarea, he had but seventeen soules in his Charge; the like I may say of many more.

Rejoynder.

Am I obliged to Answer in this paper all the reasons you alledged in your Book of Episcopacy, what you say here of Gregory Thaumaturgus is easily answered, he was sent to be Bishop of Casarea, and of the country about it, or under it's Command, and though there had been no more then seventeen Christians in the Citie, yet how know you there were no more in all the Countrey adjacent, whereof he was Bishop; But suppose there had been no more then that small number, neither in that City nor Countrey; know you not that he was sent to multiply Christians there as he did, and thereby to make himself a Competent Diocesse? the Apostle S. James is recorded to have converted no more then seven persons at the first coming in Spain; would you thence deduce, that the Apostolical office did not include in it a superiority over both Priests & Bishops.

Mr. Bax-

TRADITION.

I understand by Tradition, the visible Delivery from hand to hand in all cases of the Revealed Will of God, either written or unwritten.

Mr. Baxter.

Qⁿ. But all the Doubt is, by whom this Tradition, that is valid, must be, by the Pastour or People, or both by Pope? or Councils, or Bishops Disjunct? By the major part of the Church, or Bishops, or Presbyters, or the minor, and by how many?

William Johnson.

By such and so many proportionably, as suffice in a Kingdome to certifie the people which are the ancient universal received Customes in that Kingdome, which is to be morally considered.

Mr. Baxter.

I consent to this General: But then v. how certainly is Tradition against you, when most of the Christian World, yea all except an Interested Party, doe deny your Sovereignty, and plead Tradition against it? And how lame is your Tradition, when it is carried on your private Affirmations, and is nothing but the improved Saying of a Sect.

William Johnson.

The Intention both of you and me, was to know what

was meant by our Terms, that we might come to some Agreement about them: here we are (as appears by your Reply) agreed about what is meant by Tradition; first, your Objection, how this agrees not with our Tradition, is now out of season, and should have its place when we come to the main Controversie. If the notion of Tradition, wherein we are agreed, make against me, so much the better for you, who denyed our Sovereignty (as I describe it in my Thesis) or had a Church Government inconsistent with it in the first three and four hundred yeares. Let those Churches be named, and since those times nominate any particular body of Christians which opposed it, whom I cannot shew evidently to have sprang up of new since those times.

Mr. Baxter.

Qu. 2. *What proof or notice of it must satisfy me in particulars, that it is so past?*

William Iohnson.

Ans. Such as with proportion is a sufficient proof, or notice of the Lawes and Customes of temporal Kingdomes.

Mr. Baxter.

But is it necessary for every Christian to be able to weigh the credit of Contradicting parties, when one half of the world say one thing, and the other another thing, what opportunity have ordinary Christians to compare them, and discern the moral advantages on each side?

WIL-

As much as they have to know which Books are, and which are not Canonical Scripture, amongst those which are in Controversie.

As in case of the Popes Sovereignty, when two or three parts of the Christian world is against it, and the rest for it, can private mentry which party is the more credible, or is it necessary to their Salvation.

William Johnson.

As much as they can try which is Canonical Scripture in Books Controverted.

Mr. Baxter.

If so they are cast upon unavoidable despair; if not, must they all take the words of their present teacher.

William Johnson.

As much as they do for the Determination of Canonical Scriptures.

Mr. Baxter.

That most of the World must believe against you, because most of the Teachers are against you.

There is no Congregation of Christians united in the same

same profession of Faith, External Communion, and dependance of Pastours, which is contrary in Belief to us, any way to be Parallel with us in Extent and Multitude, prove there is, and name it: All our Adversaries together are a patcht body of a thousand different professions, and as much Adversaries one to another, as they are to us; the one Justifying us in that, wherein the other condemn us; so that no heed is to be taken to their Testimonies; *non sunt Convenientia*,

Mr. Baxter.

And it seems mens faith is resolved into the Authority of the Parish Priest, or their Confessour, the Lawes of a Kingdome may be easilier known then Christian Doctrine can be known, (especially such as are controverted among us) by mere unwritten Tradition, Kingdomes are of narrower compass then the world; And though the sense of Lawes is often in question, yet the being of them is seldome matter of Controversie: because men conversing constantly and familiarly, with each other, may plainly and fully reveal their mindes, when God that condescendeth not to such a familiarity, hath his minde, by inspired persons, long agoe with much lesse sensible Advantages, because it is a Life of Faith, that he directeth us to Live.

William Johnson.

No such matter: no more then the belief of such a Determinate Canon of Scripture is Resolved by your Parishioners into your Authority; can you not distinguish, betwixt a Propounder, and a Revealer: good Christians

Christians Resolve their Faith into God Revealing, and so pronouncing their Creed say, I believe in God, &c. when did you ever hear any of ours say, I believe in my Parish Priest; he indeed is the means whereby they came to believe, (as God's Instrument) but he is no principle or formal object of Faith, into which it is Resolved: But constitute you what Systeme you please, of the Christian Religion; let us for the present, suppose it be that which you mention in your papers, that all Christians, even heretiques and schismatiques compose one Catholique Church, whereof Christ is the head; now you say there that some heretiques are not Christians, of which sort the Church is not composed, how shall your Parishioners know (as the like is of all the unlearned) which Heretiques were Christians, which not, nay, or what Heretiques there have been in all succeeding ages, or whether at some time or other, all those whom you term Christians, were not such Heretiques, as in Reality were no Christians, being Christians onely in name, as the *Arians* were, nay how shall they know they were any Christians at all, for five hundred yeares agoe, they must take all upon your word, and so as much resolve their Faith into your Authority, as you would have ours to resolve theirs into that of their Parish Priests. Resolve this, and you have solved your own difficulty against us.

General Council. *William Johnson.*

A general Council I take to be an Assembly of Bishops and other chief Prelates, called, convened, confirmed, by those who have sufficient spiritual Authority to call, convene, and confirm it.

Mr. Bax.

Mr. Baxter.

Qu. 1. *Who is (ad esse) that must call, convene, and confirm it; till I know that I am never the nearer, knowing what a Council is, and which is one indeed.*

William Johnson.

Ans. Definitions abstract from inferiour subdivisions, for your satisfaction I affirm it belongs to the Bishop of *Rome*.

Mr Baxter.

If it be necessary to the being or validity of a Council, that it be called or confirmed by the Pope; then your Definition signifies nothing, if you abstract from that which is so necessary an ingredient, unlesse it were supposed to be understood.

William Johnson.

I have often told you, that Definitions must abstract; if my Definition be true, why yield you not to it? if false, why shew not wherein? my *Genus* is an *Assembly*, my *Differentia*, of Bishops and chief Prelates, called, convened, &c. Is there here either a false *genus*, or a false *Differentia*? In this first objection you admit both, and yet will not be satisfied with my Definition; this I understand not: when I named the Bishop of *Rome*, I told you it was for your satisfaction, not for completing my Definition, for that abstracts from particulars.

Mr. Bax-

Mr. Baxter.

If it belong to the Bishop of Rome to call a Council, as necessary to us being; then the first great general Council, and others following were none, it being certain that they were not called by him; and as certain that he hath never proved any such Authority to call them or confirm.

William Johnson.

What with you is certain, till you prove it, I hold not onely to be uncertain, but untrue also.

Mr. Baxter.

Qu. 2. Must it represent all the Catholick Church? doth not, your Definition agree to a provincial or the smallest Council?

William Johnson.

Ans. My Definition speaks specifically of Bishops, and those Prelates, as contradistinct from inferiour Pastours and Clergie, and thereby comprised all the Priests contained in the Species, and consequently makes a distinction from the National or particular Councils, whom some Bishops onely Convened, not all, that being onely some part, and not the whole Species or specifical notion applyed to Bishops of every age, and yet I said not all Bishops. But Bishops and chief Prelates; because though all are to be called, yet it is not necessary that all should convene, whence appears what I am to answer to the next Questions.

Mr. Bax-

Mr. Baxter.

Then you have had no General Councils, much lesse can you have any now, for you have none to represent the greatest part of the Church, unlesse by a mock-Representation. 2. If all must be called, your Councils have not been General, that called not a great part of the Church.

William Johnson.

The matter we are now about is to explicate Terms, whether those Explications agree with us, or make against us, belongs to our further Dispute: what you say of our having had no Councils representing the whole Church, is as easily denied as affirmed without proof; which are those which called not all?

Mr. Baxter.

If most are necessarily detained (as by distance the Prohibition of Princes, &c.) the call made is not their duty to be there, and so make it not a generall Council, which is so called from the Generality of the meeting and representation, and not of the Invitation, no more when a Call would make it a true Council, if none come.

William Johnson.

Your Reason concludes not, drawn from none present, to most absent; when a Parliament is summoned in our Nation, if none at all should come it would be no Parliament; follows it therefore, if most fall sick, or

are

are lawfully hindered, or wilfully absent themselves; that by reason of the absence of them it is neither Representative sufficiently of the Kingdome, nor enabled to enact Lawes, binding all the Inhabitants; see you not that such Principles as this of yours, are of dangerous Consequence and render the Lawes of our Nation dubious and uncertain? nor is the Call a sole invitation, but a summon, or command.

Mr. Baxter.

Qu. How many Bishops, and from what parts (ad esse) make such a Council.

William Johnson.

The number is morally to be considered, more or fewer, according to the difference of times, distances of place, and other circumstances, from whence they are to come.

Mr. Baxter.

This is put off for want of an Answer; is it a Council if difficulties keep away all? if not it can be no General Council, when difficulties keep away the most; much lesse when such a petty Confederacy as met at Trent, shall pretend to represent the Christian world, you thus leave us uncertain when a Council is General, and when not: how can the people tell when you cannot tell your selves; when the Bishops are so many as make a Council General.

William Johnson.

By this is answered what you say here, tell me what

RUM-

number present may consist with the Essence of a Parliament, or a Diet in the Empire, and I will tell you with proportion, what number may suffice for a Representation of the Church in a General Council; will you have things of a moral consideration to consist in indivisibles? But who sees not, how by cavilling in in this manner, against the validity of a Council, you lay grounds of dangerous consequence, for rejecting the authority of lawfull Parliaments, whilst you thus carp at the members present, and thereby render it as difficult to know which is a sufficient number for a Parliament, as for a Council.

Mr. Baxter.

Qⁿ. 4. May none but Bishops and chief Prelates be members, (as you intimate.)

William Johnson.

Ans^r. No others, unless such inferiours, as are sent to supply their places, and as Deputies of those Bishops, or Prelates, who are such members of the Council as have decisive Votes, in framing Decrees and Definitions.

Mr. Baxter.

This is your private opinion, no Council hath defined it, unless they are Contradictory; for I suppose you know that Basil and many Councils before it, had Presbyters in them.

William Johnson.

Basil in many things is not allowed of by us, name those

those others received as General Councils amongst us, which had simple Priests, with power of giving voices, belonging to them as such.

SCHISM.

I understand by Schism a wilfull Separation or Division of ones self from the whole visible Church of Christ.

Mr. Baxter.

Qⁿ. 1. Is it no Schisme to separate from a particular Church, unlesse from the whole ?

William Johnson.

Ans. No, it is no Schism, as Schism is taken in the holy Fathers for that great and capital crime, so severely censured by them, in which sense onely I take it here.

Mr. Baxter.

Though I take Schisme more comprehensibly, and I think aptly myself; yet hence I observe your justification of the Protestants from the Schisme: seeing they separate and not from the Catholique Church, for they separate not from the Armenian, Ethiopian, Greek

William Johnson.

Here you allow of my definition, at least you disclaim not from it; but use your objections, how it makes
c against

against my party, this I have told you often, is not now our work, but belongs to our dispute in taking your best advantages of my explications. Did not your first Protestants in *Germany* separate as much from the *Armenians*, *Ethiopians*, *Greeks*, as they did from the *Romans*, if they did not shew the communion they had with them; did your first Ministers either take mission or jurisdiction to preach from any of their Bishops, or Patriarks, did they take the prescription of their Liturgie, Discipline or Hierarchy from them, did they upon occasion joyn in Prayer, Sacraments, or Sacrifice with them, and did they profess the same faith in all points of faith, and those the very same, wherein they dissented from the Church of *Rome*, and all this notwithstanding were they in external communion with them? If so they may as well be said not to have separated from the external communion of the Roman Church, and if they separate from that, they are also separated from the other, for the very same reasons.

Mr. Baxter.

Nor from you as Christians.

William Johnson.

Nor from us (say you) as Christians, no sure, for if you did you must be Jewes, Turks, or Infidels.

Mr. Baxter.

But as scandalous offenders, when we are commanded to avoide we separate not from any; but as they separate from Christ.

Wil-

William Johnson.

Was there no more in't, did not the Primitive Persons who begun your breach, and party ow subjection to their respective Ecclesiastical Superiours, Diocesans, and Pastors immediately before they revolted from them, and is it lawful for a subject to substract himself from the obedience of his lawful Pastour because that Pastour is a *scandalous offender*, remains he not in his former power notwithstanding those scandalous offences, till he be legally deposed? if you say he does not, you contradict our Saviour, commanding obedience to be given to the scandalous Pharises who sate in *Moses* his chaire, you destroy all Ecclesiastical Government, and open a way to tread underfoot all temporal authority also in desitting to acknowledge their authority, by reason of Scandalous offences; if you hold these offences, deprive him *ipso facto*, from all Ecclesiastical power, why shall not another say they deprive Kings and Magistrates; nay even Fathers and Mothers, of their authority over those whom they Govern, and then you would have spun a fair thred, and laid a more open passage to rebellion, then any you can finde, or shew amongst those whom you term Papists, and will make this good against your self; that a man cannot be a good subject unless he cease to be of your party, such I suppose you esteem those to be, who follow your doctrine. nor yet did you only refuse obedience to them in what you thought to be scandalous and against God; but you absolutely rejected their Ecclesiastical authority, and refused to have any dependance at all of them: as your lawful Pastour, neither acknowledging those under whose immediate jurisdiction you then were, nor

any of the Ecclesiastical authority in that time.

Mr. Baxter.

Qu. 2. *Or no Schism unless willfull*

W. Iohnson. Noc.

Mr Baxter.

Again you further justify us from Schism, if it be wilful it must be against knowledge, but we are farr from separating willfully or knowingly from the whole Church, that we abhor the very thought of such a thing, as Impious and Damnable.

William Iohnson.

Abhor it as much as you please, for your own particular (I know not what excuse may be pleaded for you) I am certain that your first beginners did it, and that knowingly and willfully ; and you still maintaining what they begun , must by all considering Christians be judged guilty of the same crime, for still you remain separate from all those Churches from which they departed, that is, from all the visibe Churches existant immediately before they sprung up, and in their time, and still continue through the whole world.

Mr. Baxter.

Qu. 3. *Is it none, if you make it a division in the Church, and not from the Church?*

WVil-

William Johnson.

Ans. Not as we are here to understand it, and as the Fathers treat it, for the Church of Christ being perfectly one cannot admit of any proper Schism within it self, for that would divide it into two, which it cannot be.

Mr. Baxter.

Though I am sure Paul calls it Schism when men makes divisions in the Church, though not from it, not making it two Churches, but dislocating some members, and abating Charity, and causing contentions where there should be peace, yet I accept your continued justification of us; who if we should be tempted to be dividers in the Church, should yet hate to be dividers from it, as believing that he that is separate from the whole body is also separate from the head.

William Johnson.

I am glad to see you accept of some thing at the last upshot; If it be for your advantage, God give you good on't; I speak not of Schism taken in a large sense, but of that onely which is treated by the Fathers, and reckoned up amongst the most horrid sinnes which a Christian can commit, and that separates from the whole Church.

*See Dr. Ham.
in his Book of
Schism, c. 1, 2, 3*

Sir, urgent and unavoidable businesse constrained me to delay my return to your Solutions, or Explications of your Definitions, till this *June 29. 1660.*

Mr. Bax.

Mr. Baxter.

When you desire me to Answer any such Questions, or Explain any doubtfull passages of mine, I shall willingly doe it; In the mean time you may see, while your Termes are Explained, and your Explications or Definitions so insignificant, how unfit we are to proceed any further in dispute, till we better understand each other as to our Termes and Subject, which when you have done your part to, I shall gladly if God enable me, go on with you, till we come (if it may be) to our desired Issue.

But still I crave your performance of the double task you are engaged in.

RICHARD BAXTER.

William Johnson.

Sir, I have thus far endeavoured to satisfie your expectation, and to acquit my self of all my obligations, wherein I have sought, as I strongly hope; first God's eternal glory, and in the next place, your eternal good, with his for whom I undertake this labour, and of all those who attentively and unpartially peruse this Treatise.

WILLIAM JOHNSON.

ERRATA.

Page 75. line 13. *ad* neither. p. 78. l. 6 *dele* my answering. p. 82. and p. 83. *lege* effaid. p. 97. l. 10. *leg.* *ad* vitam. *ib.* l. 21. *lege* De-vote. p. 102. add l. 12 or. p. 103. *read* Cæfarez. p. 211. l. ult. add by: 127. l. 23. p. 130. l. 21. r. *primantiè.* p. 141. *dele* and to that head. p. 142. l. ult. add and. p. 148. l. 6. *dele* sole. p. 157. l. *read* to. p. 158. l. 5. *read* you. p. 162. l. 18. *read* and. p. 167. l. 5. *dele* not. *ib.* l. 12. add the. *ib.* l. 17. *for* as *read* to. p. 172. l. 21 *read* plainly. p. 177. l. 12. *read* points. p. 178. l. 4. *at* I see *begins* Johnsons answer. p. 193. line 13. r. province. *ibid.* l. 12. *read* solve. p. 195. l. 11. r. can. p. 198. l. 8. r. mogus. p. 199. l. 5. add to. *ib.* l. 20 add as. p. 200. l. 16. r. seen. p. 201. l. 15. *read* annum. *ib.* l. 26. *read* Mogus. p. 202. l. 8. add who. *ib.* line 21. *for* 1585. *read* 482. p. 203 line 10. *read* obscurity. *ib.* l. 12. *read* found. p. 205. l. 4. *read* 'tis p. 207 *read* for. p. 216 l. 2. *read* that Council. *ib.* line 13. *read* stating p. 219 l. 19 *dele* the. p. 220 l. 1 r. Prætriararchates. *ib.* line 4 & 6 r. Patriarches. p. 221 line 18 r left. p. 222 l. ult. add Donat. p. 227 l. 19 *read* manifestation. p. 229 line 22 *dele* To. p. 236 l. 12 add he. *ib.* l. 14 *read* Parergon. p. 237 l. 5 r. seeing. p. 239 l. 6 add labour. *ib.* l. pen. *read* Council. p. 240 l. 18 r. depolition. *ib.* l. 24 *read* bee. p. 243 l. 24 *read* see. p. 244 l. 19 r. had. p. 246 l. 20 *read* Epitom-spondani. p. 248 l. 22 *dele* that. p. 250 r. that. p. 254 l. 13 *dele* on. p. 256 *read* where. p. 256 l. 25 r. in a judge. add who. r. cannot. p. 259 l. 7 *read* help. *ibid.* l. 27 *read* cum fratribus. p. 260 l. 4 *read* wonted. p. 265 l. 9 add from. p. 261 l. 10 r. inflicted. *ibid.* l. 27 r Theodosius. p. 280 l. 20. *read* lawfull. pag. 280 in may. r. infra citandus. p. 291 l. 14 r. by this. p. 291 r. pre-served. p. 292 l. 7 add to. p. 293 r institution. p. 297 l. 3 *dele* that. p. 303 l. 12 r. by. p. 308 l. 25 add place. p. 310 r. spirits. p. 313. l. 4 add so. p. 316 l. 10 r. or that. p. 318 l. 25 *for* of *read* to. p. 325 l. 2. *read* Anthimus. p. 327 l. 26 r. wives. p. 328 l. 29 add if. p. 333 l. 29 *read* communicate. p. 343 l. 14 add phrase. p. 346 l. 8 add not. *ib.* l. 6 r. it seems. p. 347 l. 11 r. universality. p. 349 l. 3 r. Popes. p. 364 l. 1 r. and so. p. 365 l. 23 r this. *ibid.* l. 26 conform. p. 369 l. 4 *dele* not. l. 5 add not. p. 365 l. 2 add not. p. 368 l. 20 r. mistakes. *ib.* l. 22 *read* proud. p. 383 l. 17 *read* l. p. 372 l. 4 r. pages. *ib.* l. 20 add of. p. 373 r. reges. p. 390 l. 11 *dele* note &c. p. 393 l. 7 r. fort. p. 399 l. 9 r. glossa. p. 402 l. 9. r. Eulogiūms. p. 403 l. 7 r. Jesse. *ib.* l. 21. r. Jehud. p. 408 l. 27 r. alludes. p. 409 l. 17 add are. p. 411 r. Saraceno-rum. p. 412 l. 26 r. Messia. *ib.* r. Toti. p. 434 l. 21 r knew. p. 435 l. 17 rone. l pro c. p. 442 l. 27 r. verisimile. p. 445 l. 19 *dele* of France. p. 460.

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l. 23 r. nor, p. 502 l. 3 r. so much as, *ib. d. as*, *ib. l. 14* r. profession, p.
504 l. 24 r. demonstrates, *ib. l. 26* r. ecclesiaz, p. 503 l. 3 r. Castro
Galba, p. 510 l. 17. solve,

In the Explication of Termes.

Page 1 *put* Catholick Church *after* Johnson, p. 14 l. 1 r. belief,
ib. l. 3 r. necessitate, p. 27 l. 1 r. nor, p. 21 l. 7 r. invincible.

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